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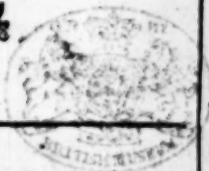
THE  
LIFE  
OF

François de Salignac

De la Motte Fenelon,

ARCHBISHOP and DUKE of  
CAMBRAY.

by Andrew Michael  
Ramsay



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\* the practice of virtue not heronary, or inconsistent  
with a view to the happiness of Heaven

It is because heronary it always supports & doing what  
is wrong, for if I see of such here as a virtuous man  
can never push up and down — but the  
happiness of heaven consists in holiness, & is essentially  
conjoined with the perfection of virtue. — & the  
expectation & view of this reward, is itself an im-  
mediate act of v. virtue depending upon God

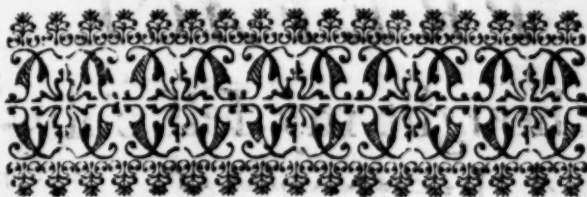
has as the reward it principally relies on is that  
spiritual & heavenly. & expectation of it is so far  
from being a diminution, & virtue it is an increase  
of it. vid. cl. form. vol. 2. form. 12. p. 276

virtue is only a way to happiness but an essential  
part of it. — & the perfection of v. one consists in the  
great measure at least in the perfection of the other  
in that new heaven & new earth where it will be  
righteousness. vid. cl. p. 313 vid. also a paper in his diary  
on it, a very satisfactory one.  
also towards the punishment of a future state and  
is not offensive to the practice of our duty  
vid. cl. form. vol. 7. p. 393

The Law of virtue for itself, regard for the Au-  
thority of God; & pursuit of private happiness  
are not only consistent, & rational principles  
but liberty is inseparably connected  
Thos. vol. 2. p. 393  
same



*I love God, & most tenderly & dearly. but  
 I love God (additionally) for you as I do for  
 everyone. Loving God is realizing nearly deeply  
 all hands - the rest  
 that God has joined together*



# THE PREFACE.



*M*onsieur de Fene-  
 lon, Archbishop  
 and Duke of  
 Cambray, having ho-  
 noured me for seve-  
 ral Years before his  
 Death with a particu-  
 lar Friendship, I have

*A 2* thought  
*to give as to Love, if you wish to know  
 you for his own sake - (the mystic) apt to force  
 down him for his own*

## PREFACE.

thought my self oblig-  
ed by the Respect I  
owe his Memory, and  
for the Sake of the  
Publick Good, to write  
this History of his  
L I F E. As my De-  
sign is to describe his  
Character by his *Ac-  
tions*, his *Sentiments*,  
and his *Writings*, there  
will nothing be found  
in this History but  
Matters of an instruc-  
tive

## *PREFACE.*

tive Nature, and which will interest every Lover of Truth and Virtue.

That the Narration may be short, plain, and not too languishing, I touch but lightly such Things as are of little Importance, and avoid tedious Reflections, as well as loose general Panegy-

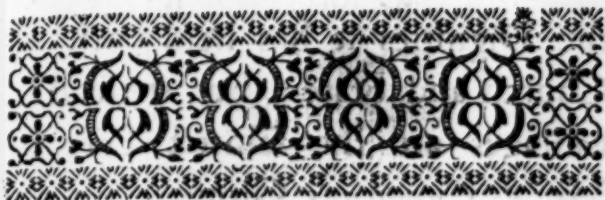
A 3                      ricks

## P R E F A C E.

ricks and superfluous  
Ornaments. I insert  
several of *Monsieur de  
Cambray's* Letters, to  
the End that he him-  
self may give his Pic-  
ture and History.



T H E



THE  
LIFE

OF

Monfieur de Fenelon,  
*Archbifhop and Duke of*  
Cambray.



*Rançois de Salignac de*  
*la Motte Fenelon*, Arch-  
bifhop and Duke of  
*Cambray*, whose Life I  
am going to write, was of a very  
ancient Family, eminent thefe ma-

A 4

ny

ny Years by its Alliances, and by the Dignities it has held both in Church and State : But these Advantages are the faintest Part of Mr. *de Cambray's* Glory.

He was born at the Castle of *Fenelon* in *Perigord*, the sixth of *August* 1651, of *Pons de Salignac Marquis de Fenelon*, and *Louise de la Cropte*, Sister of the *Marquis de St. Abre*. He continued in his Father's House till he was twelve Years of Age. This private Education in a remote Province preserv'd him from that Corruption of Morals and Sentiments, into which the young Nobility and Gentry of almost all Nations do but too often fall, whilst they are fashioning themselves to the polite and refined Manners of the Court.

From



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From his earliest Youth he gave singular Tokens of a fine natural Temper and of a very sprightly Genius.

He was sent to the University of *Cahors*, to begin his Studies there, and went afterwards to finish them at *Paris*, under the Care of *Antoine Marquis de Fenelon*, Lieutenant General in the King's Army. This *Marquis* was a Nobleman of great Understanding, exemplary Piety, and signal Bravery. The late Prince of *Condé* us'd to say of him, that *he was equally well qualified for Conversation, the Field, and the Council-board.*

The Talents of the Nephew unfolded and display'd themselves under the Protection of such an Uncle, who receiv'd him into his

A 5 House,

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House, and treated him as his own Son. The *Abbé de Fenelon* was quickly known at *Paris*. At nineteen Years of Age he preach'd with general Applause. But the *Marquis* being fearful lest his Nephew should produce himself too soon, and dreading for so young a Man the dangerous Rock of Vanity, oblig'd him to take a Resolution of imitating for several Years the Silence of Jesus Christ.

The *Abbé*, under the Conduct of Mr. *Tronson*, Superior of the Seminary of St. *Sulpicius*, applied himself more than ever to cultivate his Mind and improve his Heart by the Studies and Virtues proper to his State and Vocation. At twenty four Years of Age he enter'd into holy Orders, and perform'd

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form'd all the Functions of the Priesthood with an edifying Piety. He assisted in the most laborious of the Parochial Duties, and thought nothing below him in a Ministry, where the lowest Office is a Dignity too great for Man.

When he was about twenty seven Years old, *Mons. de Harlay*, Archbishop of *Paris*, made Choice of him to be Superior of the Community of Women converted from the Protestant Religion in that City.

The Pains he took, and the Success he had in this Employment, soon discover'd how much he was Master of the Talents of Persuasion, and of reconciling prejudic'd Minds to Reason. The King was inform'd of it, and in the Year 1686, nam'd him to go Chief of a  
A 6 Mission,

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Mission, that was appointed for the Conversion of the Protestants upon the Coast of *Saintonge* and in the Country of *Aunis*.

*Louis XIV.* had been advised to make use of military Power for the hindring a Diversity of Religions in his Kingdom. But the *Abbé de Fenelon*, far from approving such Maxims, would never consent to undertake the Mission but upon Condition that no Troops should be employ'd in it. The mild and gentle Treatment which the Protestants of those Quarters experienc'd, whilst their Neighbours were abandon'd to the severest Usage, disposed them to listen with Advantage to the new Missionary. And tho' this Method in reality did not produce so many

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many hasty Conversions as did that of Violence, yet those which it wrought were more solid and more sincere.

When this Mission was over, *Monsieur de Fenelon* came back to *Paris*, and waited upon the King, but for two Years after that return'd no more to Court. He resum'd his Charge over the new converted Catholicks. His bright Talents, which he could not hide, rais'd him within the reach of the most considerable Dignities. But his entire Negligence of the Means to procure them, and to insinuate himself into the good Graces of those who were consulted upon the Distribution of Benefices, was the Reason that having been nam'd to the Bishoprick of *Poitiers* the  
Nomi-

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Nomination was cancell'd, before it was made publick.

In the mean time his Reputation still increas'd, and that Eloquence, that Light and Unction of which all his Works are so full, appeared every Day more and more in his Sermons and Discourses to the new Converts. He wrote at that time a Treatise upon the Pastoral Ministry, which is one of the first Productions of his Pen, and he there lays down the same Principles upon the Ecclesiastical Authority, which he has ever since maintained.

It was during this Superiorship that he became acquainted with *Monsieur Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*. No Body was more capable of giving the *Abbé de Fenelon* useful  
Advice



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Advice upon the Duties of his Employment. This Prelate had already made himself famous by his Writings against the Protestants. They had given a mighty Shock to the whole Reformation. He was a Man of great Learning, curious in his Researches, of a clear Head and a lively Eloquence, and was Master of the Knowledge of Facts to an eminent Degree.

The *Abbé de Fenelon* liv'd a long time in great Intimacy with this Prelate. He listned to his Instructions with all the Modesty and Docility that were due to the Age, Character and Talents of Mr. *Meaux*, who lov'd him and imparted to him his Discoveries.

The *Marquis de Fenelon* had procur'd for his Nephew the Acquaintance

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quaintance of many eminent Persons at Court, among the rest, of the Duke of *Beauvilliers*. This Nobleman had desir'd him to write a Treatise upon the Education of Daughters. One may there see the great Knowledge the Author had already acquired of the Heart of Man, and what a perfect Skill he had in forming and fashioning of Youth. The King being informed by the Duke of *Beauvilliers* of the *Abbé de Fenelon's* Capacity and Merit, nam'd him to be Preceptor to the Duke of *Burgundy*, without any Solicitation us'd on the *Abbé's* Part. All the World applauded this Choice, and more especially *Monsieur de Meaux*, who wrote the following Letter to *Madame de Fenelon*,  
Daugh,

*Monsf. de FENELON.* 17

Daughter to the *Marquis de Fenelon* before-mentioned.

*At Germigny this 9<sup>th</sup> Day of August 1689.*

“ **Y**esterday, Madam, my  
“ Thoughts were chiefly  
“ taken up with the Happiness of  
“ the Church and State. I have  
“ had Leisure to Day to reflect  
“ more particularly upon your  
“ Joy. It has given me a very  
“ sensible one. That cordial  
“ Friend, that worthy Gentle-  
“ man, your Father, came into  
“ my Mind. I have figur’d to my  
“ self how he would be affected  
“ upon this Occasion, in seeing  
“ a Virtue break forth with Lus-  
“ tre, which took so much Pains  
“ to

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“ to be concealed. I beseech  
“ you to accept this Testimony  
“ of my Joy, and the Assurances  
“ of that Respect wherewith I  
“ am, &c.

The *Abbé de Fenelon* enter'd upon his Employment about the Prince at thirty eight Years of Age, in the Month of *September* 1689. Diverse other Persons of distinguish'd Merit had been likewise chosen to assist in so important an Education.

The Duke of *Beauvilliers*, Governor to the Prince, was a Nobleman who under a great Simplicity of Manners conceal'd many rare Virtues. Being an Enemy to Pomp, cur'd of Ambition, and without Attachment to Riches, he  
was

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was modest, sedate, disinterested, liberal, courteous, sincere, polite, considerate and regular in every thing, and thereby exceedingly well qualified to govern Men. As a Minister of State the Basis of his Politicks was the Love of Justice. This was his reigning Virtue. To this he sacrificed his own Inclinations, his personal Friendships, and even the Interests of his Family. All these great Qualities received a Lustre and a Perfection from an eminent Piety, which made him look to God as the End to which all Things were to be directed. And this Piety was in him a fruitful Source of Light to guide him in all the Steps he had to make. For as it disingag'd his Heart from all irregular Passions,  
and

and even Fondness for Amusements, it continually supplied his Mind with sufficient Strength to discover in every Occasion what was true and eligible.

The *Abbé de Langeron*, Reader to the young Prince, had been ever an intimate Friend, and, in some Sort, a Pupil of *Monsieur de Fene- lon*. He had applied himself to the serious Sciences, which form the Judgment, as well as to the *Belles Lettres*, which adorn the Mind. He was of a chearful and amiable Temper, his Heart noble, and affectionate. A better Friend was never seen. The Disgrace of *Monsieur de Cambray* drew his upon him, but the Sense of his own Misfortune was entirely lost in the Pleasure of following his Friend in  
his



his Exile, and of spending the Remainder of his Days with him. Such were the Friends of *Monsieur de Cambray*.

Father *Le Valois*, a Jesuit, recommended by the *Abbé de Fenelon* to be the Prince's Confessor, was a true Monastick, who in the midst of the Court had preserved all the Virtues belonging to his State and Character.

The Works of the *Abbé de Fleury*, Sub-preceptor to the Prince, have made his Name so famous, that they alone are a sufficient Encomium. I say nothing of the other Persons who had a Share in this Education. Their Merit is well known, and as they are yet alive, I must have regard to their Modesty.

Never

Never was there a greater Harmony in the Conduct of an Education, than in that of the Duke of *Burgundy*. All those who were about him were in Concert together never to flatter him, nor to take his Part when there was Reason to be dissatisfied with him. They talked to him in the same Style, their Principles were the same, they all led him in the same Way. He found no Refuge but in Obedience and in the Performance of his Duties.

The great Talents of that Prince were accompany'd with great Imperfections. He was naturally cholerick, violent, haughty and humourfom. Such was the Child, whom we have since seen the meekest and most compassionate of Princes,

Princes, and the most sensibly touch'd with the Miseries and Misfortunes of Men. He denied himself every thing to succour others, and look'd upon himself as destin'd to Sovereign Authority for no other End, but to be the Guardian of his People's Welfare, and to make them good and happy.

The Method made use of to fashion the Mind and Heart of that young Prince is a Model of the most perfect Education.

In Order to form his Mind, he was made to study, not by Rules, but according as Curiosity, which they took Pains to excite in him, led him to it. By this Means Amusements were converted into Study, and the most serious Studies became an Amusement. A

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Conversation begun by Design, without his perceiving it, gave Occasion to the reading of a History, to the examining of a Map, and to such Reasonings and Discourses as, at his Age, he might be capable of comprehending. The Exercises set him were always solid Instructions. By some Story, or some Dialogue, which treated of the most considerable Transactions of ancient or modern Times, they made him acquainted with the Characters of the great Men of all Ages, and at the same Time, inspir'd him with the Love of the purest Virtue. The Dialogues of the Dead, and the Adventures of *Telemachus*, were written with this View.

It

It was necessary, for the regulating of his Heart, to correct his natural Failings, and to give him a Taste for the several Virtues. A sorrowful Air upon the Countenances of all who were about him was now and then successfully made use of to give a Check to the humoursom, violent and haughty Temper of the young Prince. Sometimes they brought him to Reason by artful and delicate Raillery. At other times they made him sensible of his Extravagances by shewing him his Picture in some Fable.

The Corrections commonly us'd in Education were never employ'd here. The only Punishments were to deprive him of some diversion, to confine him from going abroad,

It I

B

or

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or even not to permit him some kind of Study they had made him fond of. By thus breaking his Will, and subduing his Inclinations, they at length brought him to such a Pliableness of Temper, and to such a Strength of Soul, as were proper to make him readily listen to good Counsels, and resolute in following them.

When his Fits of Humour and Passion were most violent, all those who approach'd to serve him had Orders to affect a melancholy Silence all the while of their Attendance. They left him in this Manner without Pity to combat with himself, till at length weary of finding no Body to talk with, he came and ask'd Pardon, and acknowledg'd his Fault.

The



The only Condition of Forgiveness was to confess all ; and to accustom him to this Ingenuouſness, thoſe Perſons who had the Care of his Education us'd to acknowledge thoſe Faults, which they might happen to have committed in his Preſence. By this Means they made their own Imperfections ſerviceable to the Inſtruction of their Pupil.

They endeavour'd to inſpire him with the Love of Virtue, not by dry Precepts, nor moral Sentences, nor ſtudied Harangues ; but by a Word, a Look, ſome touching Reflection well tim'd, they gave him every Moment new Leſſons, without his being diſguſted with it, or even ſo much as perceiving it. At Table, at  
B 2 Play,

Play, in taking the Air, and in Conversation every thing was made to tend to Instruction, and by undiscoverable Arts and ingenious Turns, which way soever he looked, noble Sentiments and royal Virtues were still presented to his Mind.

To this Knowledge and Love of Truth was added the valuable Faculty of a judicious Silence. To accustom him early to Secrecy they imparted to him, after due Precaution, some Affairs even of the highest Importance, letting him thereby see, that they put a greater Confidence in him, than his Years could intitle him to. This is no imaginary Account, but a Relation of Facts which I have from Mr. *De Cambray* himself.

It

It was thus that the Duke of *Beauvilliers*, the *Abbé de Fenelon*, and all those who acted under them, concurred together to render their august Pupil a Father of his Country.

During the whole time that the *Abbé de Fenelon* was at Court he ever shew'd a perfect Disinterestedness, and a great Forgetfulness of himself. All the Benefice he had was a small Priory which his Uncle, the Bishop of *Sarlat*, had resigned to him. He had learned betimes to be content with a little, to regulate his Expences, and to live free of that Slavery in which interested Minds are unavoidably involved; and this long Habit of setting Bounds to his Desires, joined with the supernatural

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*D. & H. p. 105* Love of the Poverty of Jesus Christ, made him continue six Years at Court in noted Favour without receiving or asking any Bounty either for himself or for any of his Family. The Publick nam'd him for every Place that fell vacant ; but not the least Provision was made for him.

The King at length bestow'd on him the Abby of St. *Vallery*, making him at the same time a Sort of Excuse for giving him so little and so late. Some Months after, the Archbishoprick of *Cambray* becoming vacant, his Majesty nam'd him to it. The *Abbé de Fenelon*, nicely scrupulous in the Point of his Duty, at first declined the accepting it ; fearing that he should not be able to reconcile the Care  
of

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of a Diocese with the Functions of his Employment. But the King told him, that the Education of the Prince being almost finish'd, he might alternatively discharge the Duties of his Preceptorship and those of his Bishoprick, the Persons of Merit, who were under him in both Stations, supplying his respective Absences. He yielded at last to the King's Commands, upon Condition that he might spend nine Months of the Year at *Cambray*, and three with the Prince.

When he accepted the Archbishoprick of *Cambray*, he resign'd the Abby of *St. Vallery*, without asking it for any of his Friends or Relations. The King seem'd amaz'd, and press'd him to keep

it. But he represented to his Majesty, that the Revenues of the Archbishoprick being more than sufficient, he thought himself in that Case wherein the Canons forbid a Plurality of Benefices. He relinquish'd at the same time the Priory which he had from his Uncle. So rare a Disinterestedness gain'd him great Encomiums, but it likewise occasioned a certain Grudge against him in those Persons whom his Example condemn'd.

The high Favour the Archbishop of *Cambray* was now in, seem'd to promise still a greater Advancement; but there arose a Storm against him which carried him for ever from the Court.

In

In order to know the Rise, Progress and Completion of his Disgrace, it is necessary to say something of *Madame Guyon*, who was made the Pretext for it, and to give here a short Account of her Conduct and Sentiments.

This is needful, not only to justify her against the Calumnies of her Enemies, but likewise to take away the false Ideas which certain Persons have fram'd of her, by reading a History of her Life, lately printed in a foreign Country, contrary to her last Intentions.

*Madame Guyon* was born at *Montargis*, of a good Family. At fifteen Years of Age she was married to a Gentleman of the same Place, and continued there



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till her Widowhood, preserving always the Reputation of a pure and unspotted Virtue.

From her tenderest Years she, in a very particular Manner, consecrated her self to God, by that Kind of Piety which is adapted to every State of Life, and which is so much recommended by St. *François de Sales*.

At twenty eight Years of Age she was left a Widow. The Fame of her Piety and good Understanding having reached so far as to the Ears of *Monsieur d' Aranton*, Bishop of *Geneva*, who was then at *Paris*; that Prelate engag'd her to retire into his Diocese, in the Company of some Women who were Converts to the Catholick Church, and who were going to  
establissh

*Mons. de FENELON.* 35

establiſh a Community at *Gez*, for the Conversion of Protestants of their own Sex.

*Madame Guyon* having first advis'd with some Persons, the most venerable for their Piety, and being by all confirm'd in her Resolution, she left *Paris* in the Year 1681, accompany'd by some of those new Converts, and two Maid-Servants. She soon arriv'd at *Gez*. The Bishop of *Geneva* came there to see her, and brought with him Father *De la Combe*, a *Barnabite*, whom he made Superior of the House. This Father was a Monastick not only of superior Understanding in all human Learning, but of a profound Knowledge in the Science proper to the Saints.

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She receiv'd Letters soon after from her Family, desiring her to relinquish the Guardianship of her Children, which was worth near three thousand Pound *per Annum*, and to make over to them all her Fortune. To this Request she joyfully consented, reserving only a small Pension to her self.

The Bishop of *Geneva*, at the Instigation of some Persons, endeavour'd to engage her to make a Present of the little Income, she had left, to the new Converts, and to take upon her self the Government of the House. But as she had perceiv'd that the Rules and Institution of that Community were not agreable to her Way of thinking, she begg'd the Bishop to excuse her. This Refusal displeas'd

pleas'd the new Converts; and they desir'd her soon after to leave the House.

Resolv'd never more to return to *Paris*, but, in some solitary Place, unknown, and remote from the World, to disengage her Mind from all earthly Cares, she retir'd at first to the *Ursulines* of *Tonnon*, afterwards to one of her Friends at *Grenoble*, and at last to *Verceil*, whither the Bishop of the Place had frequently invited her. It was there that she reckoned to end her Days; but the thick Air of the Place having caus'd a Defluxion upon her Lungs, accompanied with a dangerous Fever, the Physicians declar'd that she could not live unless she went to breath her native Air. She left *Verceil* to the great Regret

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gret of the Bishop, and came back to *Paris* in the Year 1687, after six Years Absence.

During her Retirement and Abode in those distant Provinces, she, in her first Writings, express'd the noble Aspirings of her Love to God in a simple and artless, but lively and feeling Manner. Her Manuscripts were insensibly handed about from one to another, were copied and dispers'd without her Knowledge. A Friend of hers caus'd one of them to be printed at *Grenoble*<sup>a</sup>, and another at *Lions*<sup>b</sup>, with authentick Approbations. These Pieces were exceed-

---

<sup>a</sup> A short and easy Method of Prayer.

<sup>b</sup> Explication of *Solomon's Song*.

ingly lik'd by some, but they gave Offence to others.

She was no sooner arrived at *Paris*, but there came Letters from the Country exclaiming against her Doctrine, and loading her with Calumnies. Counterfeit Letters were produc'd, and she was confined to the Monastery of Nuns of the Visitation, in the Street of *St. Antoine*, the Month of *January* 1688. Father *De la Combe*, her Director, was involv'd in the same Disgrace.

She very soon made appear the Imposture of her Enemies, confounding them by the Force of her Answers. After a strict Examination, for the Space of eight Months, by Order of *Monsieur de Harlay*, Archbishop of *Paris*; after

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ter the most malicious Accusations, the most captious Interrogatories, and a perfect clearing up of all Matters, her Innocence appear'd in all its Lustre. Her Candour, Meekness, and submissive Behaviour so undeceiv'd the Abbess, and the other Nuns of the Monastery, that they were all unanimous in giving an authentick Testimonial to her Virtue. *Madame de Maintenon* being convinc'd of her Innocence by the Means of *Madame de Miramion*, applied with great Earnestness to the King in her Behalf, obtain'd her Liberty, and for several Years gave her Marks of great Confidence and Friendship.

Some time after her going out of the Monastery before mention'd, she



she made Acquaintance with the *Abbé de Fenelon*. She saw him at the Duchess of *Bethune's*, a Lady to whom she had been known from her Childhood. The *Abbé* had been very much prepos- sess'd to her Disadvantage, before he had spoken to her; but his Pre- judices were intirely removed by the Conversations he had with her at *Madame de Bethune's* House. Going afterwards occasionally to *Montargis*, he inquir'd what Re- putation she had born in that Town before she left it. Every one express'd a very high Opinion of her Plety, and of the Purity of her Conversation from her very Infancy; and this Testimony be- ing given by Persons of the most venerable Characters, it confirm'd

*Monsieur*

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*Monsieur de Fenelon* in the Idea he had already conceiv'd of *Madame Guyon's* Merit ; and a strict Friendship was by Degrees form'd between these two Persons, which prov'd afterwards to both a Source of very heavy Crosses, and thereby an Occasion of exercising very great Virtues.

*Madame Guyon*, some Years after her first Acquaintance with *Monsieur de Fenelon*, became likewise acquainted with the Duke of *Chevreuse*.

This Nobleman had been educated by the Gentlemen of *Port Royal*. Such able Masters neglected nothing to cultivate his natural Parts. He was vers'd in several Kinds of Learning, very rare in Persons of his Rank. He had

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an easy Eloquence, an extensive Genius, capable of tracing every thing back to first Principles, and of forming the greatest Projects. He was bold in Execution, fearless of bad Success, and undaunted by the Censures of those who did not penetrate the Greatness of his Designs. If his Mind had some Defects, they were owing to its being too fertile in Schemes. His Address was free, graceful and modest; his Politeness of a noble, delicate, and unaffected Kind; his Temper sweet, affable, and engaging. He liv'd in his Family with his Children like a good Friend, as well as a good Father. His Soul, notwithstanding his natural Vivacity, seem'd always even and undisturb'd. Piety, in a Word, had

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had in him so united together the human and divine Virtues, that he was at once a good Christian, a good Common-wealth's-man, and a perfect Friend.

The Duke of *Beauvilliers*, the Duke of *Chevreuse*, and the *Abbé de Fenelon* liv'd in close Amity together, and all the World was acquainted with the singular Esteem they had for *Madame Guyon*. Diverse young Ladies at Court of eminent Quality were likewise engaged with her in a strict Friendship. *Madame de Maintenon* herself made her frequently come to *St. Cyr*, and testify'd a very great Confidence in her.

Some Persons who had an Interest to serve by putting an End to these Friendships, spread a Rumour

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amour abroad of a rising Heresy much in Credit at Court. That which gave Occasion to their Calumnies was as follows.

Rome had, some Years before, employ'd its Thunder against the Writings of *Molinos*. The inconsiderate Expressions of that *Spanish* Doctor had given Rise to a false Spirituality, which join'd the impure Love of the Creatures with a pretended pure Love of the Creator. This Illusion is affirm'd to have made its Way as far as into *France*. Others again pretend to say, that all the Reports spread abroad about *French Quietism*, were only the Stratagems of certain politick Men, who sometimes place Phantoms before the Eyes of Princes, in order to make

1655.4.  
1687

them-  
The taught  
the man has no will in motion; which  
to punishment or reward Salvation or damnation  
an even one arrived at it state for no more day  
the need of Saviour's prayer. The thought is: yet whether  
open one is always united to God by a pure love (Dupin)

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had in him so united together the human and divine Virtues, that he was at once a good Christian, a good Common-wealth's-man, and a perfect Friend.

The Duke of *Beauvilliers*, the Duke of *Chevreuse*, and the *Abbe de Fenelon* liv'd in close Amity together, and all the World was acquainted with the singular Esteem they had for *Madame Guyon*. Diverse young Ladies at Court of eminent Quality were likewise engaged with her in a strict Friendship. *Madame de Maintenon* herself made her frequently come to St. Cyr, and testify'd a very great Confidence in her.

Some Persons who had an Interest to serve by putting an End to these Friendships, spread a Rumour



*Mons. de FENELON.* 45

mour abroad of a rising Heresy much in Credit at Court. That which gave Occasion to their Calumnies was as follows.

Rome had, some Years before, employ'd its Thunder against the Writings of *Molinus*. The inconsiderate Expressions of that *Spanish* Doctor had given Rise to a false Spirituality, which join'd the impure Love of the Creatures with a pretended pure Love of the Creator. This Illusion is affirm'd to have made its Way as far as into *France*. Others again pretend to say, that all the Reports spread abroad about *French Quietism*, were only the Stratagems of certain politick Men, who sometimes place Phantoms before the Eyes of Princes, in order to make *them*

... patient in with the man has no will no intention: & will in  
... suffer as to punishment or reward Salvation or dam-  
... an even now arrived at it state sin no more has  
... need of Saviour's propitiety. Thanksgivings. Yet whether  
... one is always united to God by a pure love. (Dipped)



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themselves necessary in a War against them.

However that be, Occasion was taken from these Rumours to confound Truth with Falshood, and to cry down that internal and hidden Piety, which is only discovered by the solid, pure and amiable Virtues, that are its genuine Fruits.

who wrote a  
treatise  
on this  
subject

The new Disciples of St. *Austine* listen'd but too readily to those Calumnies. They had flatter'd themselves at first, that a Man of such good Understanding as the *Abbé de Fenelon*, could not fail to be of their Party. They were extreamly shock'd when they saw themselves deceiv'd, and especially when they found that the Duke of *Chevreuse*, by Means of the Friendship he had with him, was

carried

Joseph de Portroyal Rob. Arnaud. Antony Le Maître  
to the Great Pascal. Louis de Tillamant Fr. [Dupen]

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carried off by Degrees from the  
Sentiments of the Gentlemen of  
*Port Royal.* *\* Jansuist!*

Nothing was any longer heard  
but Clamours about the Danger  
the Church was in from the He-  
resy of *Molinos*, which unpercei-  
vably insinuated it self among Per-  
sons of the first Rank, and of the  
greatest Merit. The Alarm was  
especially given to *Monsieur Godet*  
*de Marais*, Bishop of *Chartres*, a  
Prelate of sincere Piety, but of a  
violent Temper, and an ardent  
Zeal for what he thought sound  
Doctrine.

A Man of such a Character was  
susceptible of strong Prejudices.  
The new Spirituality was pictur'd  
to him after a frightful Manner. A  
certain Doctor of *Sorbonne*, a stre-  
nous

and died 1636: in his Posthumous piece (Augustinus) he teaches  
1. Some commands of God are impossible to s. righteously, who in vain  
do their utmost, & are bringing nothing.

2. One never resist Prav  
3. To merit & demerit it is not necessary to be free from necessity: but free

4. n. 48 The LIFE of

nous Assertor of invincible Grace,  
in order to bring that Prelate off  
from his indefatigable Prosecutions  
against *Jansenism*, artfully repre-  
sented *Quietism* to him as a fit  
Object for the Exercise of his epi-  
scopal Zeal. The pious Bishop  
being ignorant at that time of the  
Character and Sentiments of the  
Doctor, was not aware of the  
Snare. He applied himself in good  
earnest to thunder against the rising  
Heresy, and employed all his  
Thoughts to bring *Madame Guyon*  
under Suspicion.

This Lady then took a Reso-  
lution of putting her Writings in-  
to the Hands of some Prelate of  
eminent Learning, who might ex-  
amine and make a Report of them.  
She pitched upon *Monsieur de*

5. It is also so in plagiarism to say that Christ shed Meaux  
his blood for all men without exception (Dupin)  
6. The asking of the Mass is a thing not intended by v. Pope

*Meaux* for this Purpose, as being a Man whose Approbation would counterbalance the Authority of the Bishop of *Chartres*, and quickly destroy the Calumnies of the furious Doctors.

All her Manuscripts being delivered to *Monsieur de Meaux*, he read them over, and immediately told the Duke of *Chevreaux*, that he found a Light and an Unction in them which he had not met with elsewhere. He afterwards took them with him to *Meaux*, made long Extracts out of them, and at the End of five Months towards the Beginning of the Year 1694, came back to *Paris*, where he had a long Conference with *Madame Guyon*, and, after having given her the Communion with

his

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his own Hands, laid all his Difficulties before her, and attentively heard her Answers.

Altho' he had shewn a great deal of Warmth in that Conference, he nevertheless declar'd to the Duke of *Chevreuse*, that the Difficulties on which he insisted did no Way concern any Matter of Faith, but related only to certain Notions of Spirituality which he did not sufficiently comprehend, and that he was ready to give *Madame Guyon* a Certificate of her being a sound Catholick. *Madame Guyon* prayed the Duke to tell him, that as her Desire to see him had been only for her own Instruction, and to remove the Fears of her Friends, she was satisfy'd with the verbal Testimony, he had the Goodness to give in her Behalf.                      She

*Mons. de FENELON.* 51

She retir'd after this into an unknown Place, and broke off all Intercourse with her Friends. But the restless Spirits of her Enemies were not quieted by this Precaution. In Order to bring her Sentiments under an ill Suspicion, Endeavours were us'd to throw a Blemish upon her Morals. The Dukes of *Beauvilliers* and *Chevreuse* in Concert with the *Abbé de Fenelon* had prepar'd a Memorial in their joint Names for her Justification, and *Madame de Maintenon* undertook to present it to the King, and to second it. But *Madame Guyon* would never consent to their taking that Step for fear of exposing her three Friends to Inconveniences.

*Madame de Maintenon* some  
C 2 time



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time after chang'd her Mind, suffering herself to be hurry'd away by the Zeal of her Director, the Bishop of *Chartres*. She was a Lady that had a sincere Respect for Religion. Her Conversation was insinuating, and of a very genteel Turn. But her Judgment does not seem to have been equal to the Delicacy of her Wit. She was easily prepossessed in Favour of Persons, and afterwards as easily disgusted. It was no difficult Matter to alarm a Lady of this Character.

They persuaded her to believe that the little Book, call'd the *Short Method*, which she had exceedingly lik'd before, contain'd in it the grossest Errors, and all the horrible Doctrines of *Quietism*.  
It



It was no sooner known that she had declared her self against *Madame Guyon*, but Endeavours were us'd to raise a Suspicion in her to the Disadvantage of the *Abbé de Fenelon*. She was ready enough to entertain it. She had at first promis'd her self an absolute Ascendant over him, but finding that he often oppos'd her Notions, she grew apprehensive lest a Man, whom she could not be sure of, should get too much Credit with the King.

This Change in *Madame de Maintenon* gave Occasion to the Bishop of *Meaux*, to discover the secret Uneasiness he had a long time cherish'd against the *Abbé de Fenelon*. As that Prelate had been accusom'd to see him-

self admir'd as the greatest *Genius* of his Age, he could not bear to behold the Eyes of the Publick turned away from him to fix upon the Rival of his Reputation. This was the original Cause of their Discords. But doubtless that Prelate did not in the Beginning think of carrying Things to those Extremities, to which the Heat of Dispute transported him afterwards. Notice was given to *Monsieur de Fenelon* of frequent Complaints and little Reflections which the Bishop let fall against him : But he would give no Credit to it.

The Rage and Outcry against *Madame Guyon* became universal, and the Reputation of her Friends seem'd to suffer by the Aspersions upon her. For this Reason she  
resolv'd

resolv'd to break Silence, and to justify her self in a publick Way. She wrote to *Madame de Maintenon*, beseeching her to procure that Commissioners might be appointed, the one Half Laicks the other Ecclesiasticks, to take Information, and give definitive Sentence upon every thing that was laid to her Charge. She offer'd at the same time to make her self a Prisoner within eight Days in whatever Prison should be thought proper, to undergo the Penalties due to her, in Case she was found guilty.

The Duke of *Beauvilliers* undertook to deliver this Letter to *Madame de Maintenon*. But that Lady did not think proper to come into the Expedient propos'd, tho'

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it seem'd so very reasonable. Her Answer to the Duke was, that she did not believe the false Reports that were abroad about *Madame Guyon*; that the Matter in question was not her Morals but her Sentiments; that should her personal Character be justify'd, it was to be fear'd, too much Credit might be thereby given to her Doctrine; that the latter ought to be first examin'd, and that the Calumnies thrown upon the other would of themselves fall to the Ground.

A strict Enquiry then into the Doctrine of *Madame Guyon's* Books was what *Madame de Maintenon* insisted upon, and she spoke of it to the King. The Bishop of *Meaux* was chosen to be  
chief

chief Examiner. The Bishop of *Chaalons*, now Cardinal *de Noailles*, and *Monsieur Tronson*, Superior of the Seminary of *St. Sulpicius* were join'd with him, both which undertook the Examination with great Mildness and Candour. *Madame de Maintenon* was desirous that *Monsieur de Fenelon* should make a fourth, to which the King gave his Approbation.

The *Abbé de Fenelon*, conscious of the Purity of his own Intentions, and relying upon the Integrity of the Examiners, open'd himself to them with an unreserved Simplicity of Heart, and without the least Fear or Distrust.

*Monsieur de Meaux* told him, that he had never read any of the contemplative Writers, and pray-

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ed him to make some Extracts out of them, and to add his own Remarks. The *Abbé de Fénélon* did so, and sent him a Collection of Passages taken from the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, the canoniz'd Saints and approved Doctors.

The Design of this Collection was to shew, that the Expressions of the Contemplatives in all Ages were as unguarded as those of *Madame Guyon*; that neither the one nor the other ought to be taken in Strictness: But yet that after all Allowances were made, there would still remain enough to prove by a constant Tradition, that  
 “ tho’ we are bound to love God  
 “ as the Author of our Happiness,  
 “ we are oblig’d to love him yet  
 “ more,

*Mons. de FENELON.* 59

“ more, as he is infinitely perfect; <sup>vid. p. 151</sup>  
 “ that we ought to love God for <sup>2112</sup>  
 “ himself, all other Things for <sup>grand</sup>  
 “ his Sake, and our own Being <sup>for</sup>  
 “ as his Image. That we should <sup>low in</sup>  
 “ will Good to our selves only as <sup>darkly</sup>  
 “ belonging to him, thus enoble <sup>from</sup>  
 “ our Hope by Charity, and desire  
 “ our own eternal Happiness, as a  
 “ State which exalts, purifies, and  
 “ consummates our Love.

*Monsieur de Meaux* had always maintained the Opinion opposite to disinterested Love. He thought no Body understood so well what was true Doctrine as himself, and could not bear to be shewn, that the Tradition of the Church in so essential a Point had escap'd his Observation. The *Abbé de Fenelon* insisted stedfastly upon what

that the mind of man is capable of pure Love, where  
 the object is in itself truly lovely: i. e. God as his proper  
 object of it, according to his constitution of nature, or of  
 it is merely of a desire of complacency or interest.  
 C 6 he  
 fed Love, is fairly proved in this plain and moral sense  
 of it. On the other side, the low selfish, ungraced, and  
 unchristian love is clearly proved by Bishop Butler



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he had advanced, which was insupportable to the Bishop from a Man whom he look'd upon as his Disciple.

After an Examination which lasted several Months, they had a great deal of Difficulty to come to any precise Determination. The only Thing in View, at the beginning, was to undeceive *Madame Guyon* upon her pretended Spirituality. But *Monsieur de Meaux* would not rest there. He cryed out continually, that the Church was in Danger. It would be an additional Lustre to the Glory of his Triumphs over the Protestants to convict so great a Man as the *Abbé de Fenelon* of Error. He was therefore for making Canons, to ascertain and secure the Catholick Doctrine. For

*Monf. de FENELON.* 61

For this Purpose, towards the Beginning of the Year 1695, he had diverſe Conferences at *Iſſy* with *Monſieur de Chaalons*, *Monſieur Tronſon*, and the *Abbé de Fenelon*, who was juſt nam'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Cambrai*. He ſhewed them thirty Articles, he had drawn up, and which he propos'd to them to ſign, as a Fence againſt Novelties.

*Monſieur de Fenelon* having read them over, alter'd ſeveral of the Number, and added four others. Theſe were rejected at firſt by the Biſhop of *Meaux*; but, after much Diſpute, he at length yielded, and the Articles were ſign'd by all the four Examiners.

*Monſieur de Meaux* whiſper'd about his Boaſts, that he had made  
*Monſieur*

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he had advanced, which was insupportable to the Bishop from a Man whom he look'd upon as his Disciple.

After an Examination which lasted several Months, they had a great deal of Difficulty to come to any precise Determination. The only Thing in View, at the beginning, was to undeceive *Madame Guyon* upon her pretended Spirituality. But *Monsieur de Meaux* would not rest there. He cryed out continually, that the Church was in Danger. It would be an additional Lustre to the Glory of his Triumphs over the Protestants to convict so great a Man as the *Abbé de Fenelon* of Error. He was therefore for making Canons, to ascertain and secure the Catholick Doctrine. For

*Mons. de FENELON.* 61

For this Purpose, towards the Beginning of the Year 1695, he had diverse Conferences at *Issy* with *Monsieur de Chaalons*, *Monsieur Tronson*, and the *Abbé de Fenelon*, who was just nam'd to the Archbishoprick of *Cambray*. He shewed them thirty Articles, he had drawn up, and which he propos'd to them to sign, as a Fence against Novelties.

*Monsieur de Fenelon* having read them over, alter'd several of the Number, and added four others. These were rejected at first by the Bishop of *Meaux*; but, after much Dispute, he at length yielded, and the Articles were sign'd by all the four Examiners.

*Monsieur de Meaux* whisper'd about his Boasts, that he had made  
*Monsieur*

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*Monsieur de Fenelon*, under the specious Pretext of signing some Articles, retract his Errors ; and *Monsieur de Fenelon* pleas'd himself with thinking, that, by the Approbation which that Prelate had given to the four superadded Articles, he had brought him to admit his Doctrine of *pure Love*.

Not long after the signing of these Articles, *Monsieur de Fenelon* was consecrated Bishop of *Cambray*, and *Monsieur de Meaux* would by all Means perform the Office. Hitherto there had seem'd to be a very good Understanding between these two Prelates.

The Bishops of *Chaalons*, *Chartres* and *Meaux* in that very same Year publish'd Pastoral Letters against *Quietism*, and condemn'd  
the

*Mons. de FENELON.* 63

the Books of *Madame Guyon*. The first conducted himself with much more Moderation than the other two. " While we blame, says that Prelate, " the Extravagancies of " the false Mysticks, let us ever " praise and admire those holy " Excesses to which Souls are transported by the Love of God. " They can never carry it too far, " since the only Measure of Love " to him is to love him without Measure. Fear not therefore, continues he, that the " Transports of *pure Love* should " ever carry them aside from the " right Way." Thus, tho' he forbade the reading of *Madame Guyon's* Books, he was very far from condemning her Person. He had seen her some Months before at the

*with all thy heart*

*Hôtel*

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*Hôtel de Morhestein*, and had told her, " That submitting her Expressions to the Judgment of her Superiors, she might continue in the same Sentiments, and that he would pray God to increase his Favours to her.

In the mean time, that Lady had retir'd to the Nuns of *St. Mary of Meaux*, waiting the decisive Judgment of the Bishops. *Monsieur Bossuet* went into his Diocese to see her. He requir'd of her to sign his Pastoral Ordinance, and to retract the Errors therein mention'd, confessing at the same time that she did not believe the Incarnation of the *Word*, and that she had practis'd a kind of Prayer which put her into an intire Forgetfulness of the Christian Mysteries.

*Ma-*



*Mons. de FENELON.* 65

*Madame Guyon* was scar'd at so strange a Proposal. She told him, that, as to her Expressions, she submitted them to the Church, that she made but little Account of her Works, that she had written them only occasionally and in Obedience, without any Intention to dogmatize; that it was possible she might have been mistaken in her Choice of Terms, but that she could not, without betraying her Conscience, acknowledge that she had ever held such monstrous Errors.

The Nuns and Abbesses of the Convent, whither she had retreated, were afflicted at the Cruelty of their Bishop, and endeavour'd to soften him by the Testimony they gave to *Madame Guyon's* Piety.

He

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He yielded at length to the Force  
of Truth, and at the End of six  
Months gave her a Certificate, in  
which he declares, " That he was  
" satisfy'd with her Conduct; that  
" he continued to her the Partici-  
" pation of the holy Sacraments;  
" that he had not found her any  
" ways involv'd in the Abomina-  
" tions of *Molinos*, or in any o-  
" ther heretofore condemn'd; and  
" in fine, that he had not meant  
" to comprehend her in the  
" Mention made of those Abo-  
" minations in his Pastoral Or-  
" dinance.

Another Certificate was likewise  
given her by the Abbess and the  
Nuns, in which they declare, " That  
" that Lady, having continued six  
" Months in their House, had  
" given

given them no Cause of Trouble or Uneasiness, but on the contrary, an Example highly edifying; that throughout her whole Conduct, and in all her Words, they had observ'd a great Regularity, Simplicity, Sincerity, Humility, Mortification, Meekness, and Christian Patience, and a truly pious Esteem for every Part of the Catholick Faith, and especially for the Mystery of the Incarnation, and holy Infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Two such authentick Acts, after so rigorous an Examination, and after so much Pains had been taken to make her appear criminal, displeas'd *Madame de Maintenon* to a very high Degree. She told  
*Monsieur*

*Monsieur de Meaux* that the Attestation he had given, would have a quite contrary Effect to what had been propos'd, which was to undeceive those Persons who were prepossess'd in *Madame Guyon's* Favour. In the mean while, the Lady was arrested and committed to the Castle of *Vincennes* towards the End of the Year 1699.

*Madame de Maintenon's* Dislike to *Monsieur de Cambray* grew every Day greater. She look'd upon his Refusal to condemn *Madame Guyon* as an inexcusable Obstinacy. *Monsieur de Meaux*, to conform himself to *Madame de Maintenon's* Sentiments, resolv'd artfully to draw *Monsieur de Cambray* in to pronounce this Condemnation. He sent him Word, that he was writing

*Mons. de FENELON.* 69

ing a Treatise for the authorising  
of true Spirituality, and to put a  
stop to Illusion, and pray'd his  
approbation of it. *Monsieur de*  
*Cambray* was overjoy'd at so use-  
ful a Design, and made an Of-  
fer to join with him in the  
Work.

While *Monsieur Bossuet* was  
composing this Treatise he wrote  
the following Letter to *Monsieur*  
*Fenelon*.

At Meaux the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1696.

GOD knows the Inclina-  
“ tion and Respect with  
which I am united with you in  
the main. However, methinks  
I feel a certain, I know not  
what, which keeps us a little  
“ asunder,

" asunder, and it is insupportable  
 " to me. My Book will help us to  
 " enter into each other's Thoughts  
 " When the Union of our Minds  
 " shall be as great as that of our  
 " Hearts, I shall be at rest.

This Letter confirm'd *Monsieur*  
*de Cambray* in the good Opinion  
 he had of *Monsieur de Meaux's* In-  
 tegrity, and nothing was able to  
 make him doubt of that Prelate's  
 Friendship, till he sent him his  
*Instruction sur les Etats d'Oran-*  
*son.*

How great was *Monsieur de*  
*Cambray's* Surprize, when through-  
 out that Work he beheld Passages  
 taken out of *Madame Guyon's*  
 Books, and the horrible Meanings  
*Monsieur de Meaux* had given to  
 them

able them. This Prelate averr'd, " That  
us to the Question was not concern-  
ught ing remote Consequences, but  
Mind of a System, whereof all the  
f our Parts were link'd together, the  
manifest Design of which was  
to establish a brutish Indif-  
ference for Heaven and Hell,  
Vice and Virtue, a Forgerful-  
ness of Jesus Christ, and of all  
his Mysteries, and senseless In-  
action, and an impious Quie-  
tude.

Orat It is necessary to give here a  
concise Idea of that System of  
er d *Madame Guyon*, such as we find  
ough throughout all her Writings.  
affago As far as I am able I shall make  
Guyon use of her own Expressions which  
aning shall only connect together.

‡

Charity



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rather  
Pity a  
Low of 42

Charity is the Source and the End, the Rule and the Completion of the whole Law, of all Duties, of all Virtues; and the two Means to arrive at this perfect Love are *Prayer* and the *Self-denial* spoken of in the Gospel.

of  
Prayer  
it is

Prayer is neither a sweet Sensation, nor the Charm of an inflam'd Imagination; nor an abstracted speculative Reasoning; but it is a central Bent and Inclination of the Soul towards its Origin, such as the most simple are capable of, what nothing should interrupt and what is compatible with all the Duties of our mortal State.

requent  
Shining hope  
-take any one  
from all worldly  
or carnal  
Pleasures

It is necessary at first to use vigorous Efforts, repeated Acts, and frequent Returnings to God, that

obscure mechanical steps... the mind brings first heated with desire of an spiritual influence; here is an apathy like to after: a shifting of ends passing in a sort of enthusiasm - according to these Pleasures an Imagination of spiritual satisfaction  
II. Heaped of the in an self Love: & at last taking refuge in  
III. He passing into sufficiently satisfying limitation

we may separate our selves from  
all the Objects of our Passions,  
avoid all the Occasions by which  
they are excited, recollect and shut  
our selves up within our spiritual  
Nature, and by that Means form  
by Degrees a Habit of living in  
the divine Presence after a more  
simple, uniform, and intimate  
Manner.

Whilst the Mind is thus lifted  
up towards the sovereign Truth,  
the Heart disengages it self not  
only from all its grosser Affections,  
but even from all its most refin'd Pas-  
sions. And here we may discover  
the Source of two very different  
Operations of the divine Wisdom.

God in the Beginning disen-  
gages our Hearts from impure Plea-  
sures by the Taste he gives us of  
a hea-  
mistaken for heavenly

1. *dispassion-  
ed*  
2. *prayer  
or contemplation  
heart & task*

*in order to  
be filled  
with  
the love of  
God & divine  
presence*

*artificial  
vacancy*

*(the divine  
I elevate  
in heart)*

*Enthusiasm  
the vision  
of the divine  
presence*

*Directly  
of divine presence  
& supernatural influence*

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*Imagination* a heavenly Delectation. Animat-  
*they* ed by the tender Sentiments of a  
*and* new-born Love we exercise our  
*Sweet* selves with a noble and masculine  
*from high* Vigour in all the Labours of an ac-  
*task for* tive Virtue. The Soul ravish'd  
*elevating* with the divine Amiability is no  
*above it* longer to be touch'd with the se-  
*word* ducing Charms of a profane Sen-  
 suality.

*III*  
*Emp. and* God then proceeds to another  
*t. know* Operation in us, in order to de-  
 stroy the mistaken Love of our  
 selves; and this, not by Pleasures,  
*Artificial* but by Sufferings. After having  
*and opprobri-* wean'd us from earthly Objects,  
*delabominat-* he shuts us up within the solitary  
*-him. or* Prison of our own Being, to the End  
*is a variation* that we may experience the Dark-  
*the riches* ness, the Weakness, and the Emp-  
*ness & Dole* tiness of it. He sets before our  
*ing of Hell* Eyes

Eyes all the secret Abominations  
of our Self-love, the Impurity of  
those Virtues that flow from it,  
and its Usurpations upon the  
Rights of the Divinity. What a  
Source of Torments must this be  
to a Creature idolatrous of it self  
and of its own Virtue? The Soul  
finds nothing in it self that is wor-<sup>IV</sup>  
thy of its Love, and being no <sup>return</sup>  
longer able to endure its own So-<sup>to continue</sup>  
ciety, flies away and forsakes it <sup>heart</sup>  
self to plunge and be swallowed <sup>found</sup>  
up in the Love of that Object who <sup>stronger</sup>  
alone is lovely. <sup>than any</sup>  
<sup>to be rather</sup>  
<sup>in 7d</sup>

Then it is that the importunate <sup>the</sup>  
Noise of the Senses and the Ima- <sup>distraction</sup>  
gination becomes hush'd, the ru- <sup>undly per-</sup>  
multuous Hurry of our Thoughts <sup>seem &</sup>  
and Passions ceases, and the whole <sup>fancies, &</sup>  
Soul, being brought into a pro- <sup>greatly by</sup>  
found <sup>new way</sup>  
<sup>found for</sup>  
<sup>him, accu-</sup>

D 2

artificial tranquillity and quietude in the heart.



*the true Love of God is to be excited by rightly and  
attributed, as it is - & exciting suitable reflections. I mean  
some property by which it is distinguished. - & so is the  
proffered, when it produces not imaginary, but real*  
Mons. de FENELON.

and lively Expressions, those Stroaks  
of Tenderneſs and Paſſion, which  
are common to her with diſſerſe  
canoniz'd Contemplatives, and  
which are the true Beauties of the  
Language of Love. When charm-  
ing Nature ſpeaks ſhe is never an-  
xious about the methodical Diſpo-  
ſition of Words and Phraſes; ſhe  
paints the great Paſſions by a beau-  
tiful Diſorder, where all flows  
from the Heart without Stu-  
dy or Contrivance. So likewiſe  
the noble and unconfin'd Soar-  
ings of divine Love are not ſub-  
jected to a theological Strictneſs in  
the uſe of Terms.

It was in this Senſe only that  
Monsieur de Cambray juſtifi'd the  
Exaggerations us'd by the Saints,  
their *impoſſible* Suppoſitions, and



their *pretended Extravagances*. 'Twas pursuant to these Principles that he had always said, that the Books of *Madame Guyon* might be censur'd in their natural and literal Sense, that her Expressions were far from being exact, that they were very much strain'd, and by no Means according to the Precision of the Schools. But he was too well acquainted with the Innocence of that Lady, the Uprightness of her Heart, and the Purity of her Intentions, to impute to her the Design of establishing a System which strikes with Horror. He refus'd therefore with an unshaken Resolution to give his Approbation to *Monsieur de Meaux's* Book, and chose rather to suffer the Exile and Disgrace, which from  
that



that Moment he foresaw would befall him, than to do an Action so unworthy of his Heart and of his Character. *Monsieur de Chaulons*, become now Archbishop of *Paris*, *Monsieur de Chartres*, and *Monsieur Tronson* agreed in Opinion, that he ought not to do it, and the first of these undertook to convince *Madame de Maintenon* of the Unreasonableness of it.

*Monsieur de Meaux* was exceedingly shock'd at this Refusal. He fill'd every Place with his Clamours, loudly declaring it to be a Breach of all Union in the Episcopacy, not to approve his Work. And this it was, that oblig'd *Monsieur de Cambray* to publish a Book to inform the World of his Doctrine.

He had made an Exposition of the thirty four Articles of *Iffy*, which the Archbishop of *Paris* and *Monsieur Tronson* had seen and approv'd. This serv'd him as a Rule to go by in composing his new Work, the original Form of which was thus. He first gave the Sentiments of the Saints in a general Proposition, and then subjoin'd to each Article the Authorities of the Fathers, Saints and Doctors who favour'd his Principles. This Work he put into the Hands of *Monsieur de Paris*, who thought it too long and too much loaded with Quotations. *Monsieur de Cambray* shortned it, but he shortned it too much, by reducing it to a Heap of dry Propositions, stript of all the Testimonies of Tradition. This  
pickt

pickt and naked Skeleton did not fail afterwards to startle the cap-  
tious and suspicious Doctors.

The Work being brought into the Form, in which it has since appear'd under the Title of, *The Maxims of the Saints*, *Monsieur de Paris* read it over with *Monsieur Beaufort*, one of his Theologians, and after having kept it three Weeks, gave it back to *Monsieur de Cambray*, shewing him the Places which he thought needed to be revis'd. *Monsieur de Cambray* without any Difficulty made the Amendments in his Presence, insomuch that *Monsieur de Paris* was afraid lest his Brother should be too docil; and tho' at first he had thought the Project bold, he approv'd the Execution, and said,

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that the Work was *correct* and *useful*. He desir'd that it might yet be communicated to some other able Theologian, and agreed with *Monsieur de Cambray* to shew it to *Monsieur Pyrot*, Doctor of *Sorbonne*, a Person much devoted to *Monsieur de Meaux*. That Doctor read it over with *Monsieur de Cambray*, and after a strict Examination declar'd it to be *all Gold*.

*Monsieur de Paris* signify'd his Desire that the Book might not appear in publick till after that of *Monsieur de Meaux*; and *Monsieur de Cambray* promis'd it should not. He gave his Manuscript to the Printer, and when he set out to go to his Diocese, requested his Friends not to publish it, but  
with

with the Consent of the Archbishop of *Paris*.

*Monsieur de Meaux*, hearing that the Book was in the Press, threatened to put a Stop to the printing of it. Upon this *Monsieur de Cambray's* Friends foreseeing how much it would be to the Disadvantage of his Reputation to have his Book suppress'd, thought themselves oblig'd to hasten the Publication, notwithstanding his express Letters to the contrary. The Duke of *Chevreuse* went to the Archbishop of *Paris* to intreat his Consent to have the Work come forth. That Prelate made answer, that he would not oppose what should be thought adviseable for the Security of *Monsieur de Cambray's* Honour, but that it was not

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his Opinion to have his Book come abroad till that of *Monsieur de Meaux* had been first publish'd. The Duke of *Chevreuse* did not judge proper to follow this Advice, but had the Impression finish'd, and the Copies dispers'd in the Absence and without the Knowledge of *Monsieur de Cambray*.

Care was quickly taken to give a general Alarm; to frighten the pious and well-meaning; and to excite the Derision of the profane. The Bishops who were most in Credit at Court declaimed against *Monsieur de Fenelon*, and those Courtiers who envied the high Favour which the Dukes of *Beauvilliers* and *Chevreuse* enjoy'd, pleas'd themselves with the Hopes

4

that

that these two Noblemen would be involv'd in the Archbishop's Disgrace. All things concurr'd together to swell the Storm ; Learning, Ignorance, Piety, Policy, Insinuation, Dispute, Credulity, nay, Incredulity it self, and all this, because a Bishop had dar'd to maintain, *That we ought to love God for his own Sake.* These Noises having reach'd the King's Ears, *Monsieur de Meaux* went to wait on his Majesty, and ask'd him Pardon for not having sooner disclos'd to him *the Fanaticism of his Brother Prelate*.\*

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\* See the Answer to the Account of *Quietism*, by *Monsieur de Cambray*.



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*Monsieur de Cambray*, at his Return from his Diocese finding the universal Outcry that was against him, thought it his Business to make sure of the Archbishop of *Paris*, who was under some Sort of Obligation to support the Doctrine of the Book in Question. He propos'd to him to enter upon a new Examination of it with *Monsieur Tronson* and *Monsieur Pyrot*, and this Design was approv'd both by the King and by *Madame de Maintenon*.

The Examination however was not made. *Monsieur de Meaux* drew the most horrible Consequences from *Monsieur de Cambray's* Principles, loudly giving out, that the Sentiments he conceal'd were worse than those express'd in his Book.

Such

*Mons. de FENELON.* 87

Such Discourses in the Mouth of a Bishop of eminent Capacity, and a venerable Age, and who was now look'd upon as a Father of the Church, did not fail to give the Alarm every where, and to cause a mighty Insurrection of Doctors, Priests and Monks, who were already displeas'd with *Monsieur de Cambray* for the Part he had taken in the Disputes about *Grace*. The Scandal became universal, which put the scrupulous Piety of *Monsieur de Paris* into uneasy Apprehensions. He began to think, that he had not sufficiently examin'd the Book, and wrote the following Letter to *Monsieur de Cambray*.

Friday

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Friday the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1697.

“ I DO not advise you to deli-  
“ ver your self up absolutely  
“ to *Monsieur de Meaux*, but on-  
“ ly to make use of his Remarks.  
“ I will act as far as I am able,  
“ the Part of a Mediator, but you  
“ must assist me therein, and con-  
“ tribute more on your Part than  
“ would be necessary at another  
“ time ; because you have not at  
“ present to do with *Monsieur de*  
“ *Meaux* only, but with the pub-  
“ lick , with an inconceivable  
“ Crowd of Doctors, Priests and  
“ Monks, with People of all Sorts,  
“ and all Conditions. I shall sus-  
“ pend my own Judgment as long  
“ as I am able, but I cannot pro-  
“ mise you to do it intirely, not  
“ because

*Mons. de FENELON.* 89

“ because of the general Outcry;  
“ but because I find Alterations or  
“ Additions in your Book which  
“ I did not see in the Manuscript  
“ you communicated to me, as  
“ particularly *Involuntary Trou-*  
“ *ble*<sup>b</sup>; and likewise because, up-  
“ on the new Reflections I have  
“ made since the publishing of  
“ your Work (which I certainly  
“ desir’d to peruse once more,) I  
“ find some Passages in it too harsh;  
“ however nothing shall hinder me  
“ from seeking all Means to ju-  
“ stify your Doctrine. God is my  
“ Witness how much I am grie-

---

<sup>b</sup> This was the only Word added in the Manuscript, and without *Monsieur de Cambray’s* Order, as will be seen by his Will at the End of this Book. 2.337

“ ved to see it suspected, and how  
 “ desirous I am of being able to  
 “ destroy that Impression.

’Tis apparent that the Archbi-  
 shop of *Paris* never doubted of  
 the Uprightness of *Monsieur de*  
*Cambray’s* Intentions, but only of  
 the Accuracy of his Expressions.

The Bishop of *Chartres* on the  
 other Hand sent *Monsieur de Fe-*  
*nelon* word, that he would be sa-  
 tisfied with Explications, but he  
 did not long continue in that  
 Mind. *Monsieur de Meaux* cry’d  
 aloud that Explications were not  
 sufficient, that no less than a for-  
 mal Retraction of Errors was ne-  
 cessary. He drew away *Monsieur*  
*de Chartres*, by Degrees, into the  
 same Opinion, who at length ad-

vis

how vis'd the Archbishop of *Cambray*  
le to to abandon his Book, and to think  
no more of explaining it. He  
wrote to him in the following  
Terms.

**I**F you should justify your Book  
“ by Explications it will be  
“ thought good and useful, and  
“ the Doctrine contain'd in it to be  
“ sound ; it will be reprinted, and  
“ those who condemn it will be  
“ judg'd either to want Under-  
“ standing or to have some ill De-  
“ sign ; and thus it will become  
“ currant.

*Monsieur de Cambray*, being un-  
able to confess against his Con-  
science, that he had ever held those  
Errors which *Monsieur de Meaux*  
imputed

imputed to him, refus'd, with an unalterable Resolution, to say a single Word which might have the least Appearance even of an indirect Retraction. He all along offer'd to make Additions to his Book for explaining of every thing in it which gave Offence, and by new Correctives to take away all Ambiguity. But *Monsieur de Meaux* continued always to insist on a *formal Recantation*.

*Monsieur de Cambray* seeing all Means of coming to an Accommodation fail, address'd himself to the King, representing to him the cruel Situation he was in, the Expedients he had propos'd in order to Peace, the Refusal that was made him to examine his Book, and in fine, that he had no Way  
left



left to put an End to the Scandal, which these Disputes occasion'd, but to apply to the Pope; and he begg'd leave of his Majesty to go in Person to *Rome*. The King gave Orders to tell him, that he might transmit his Cause to *Rome*, but without going thither himself.

The steady Resolution with which *Monsieur de Cambray* refus'd to give up his Book, till the Sovereign Pontiff should pronounce Sentence upon it, was represented in such Colours to his Majesty, as to seem criminal, and as the Obstinacy of a Man incapable of submitting. And it was by these Impressions that the King was induc'd to confine him to his Diocese, to deprive his Relations of their Employments,

ployments, and to banish his Friends from Court. No Body took any Interest in him without having some Share in his Disgrace. The Superiority of his Understanding and the Purity of his Life were no longer considered. His intimate Friend was to pass for a whimsical enthusiastick Woman, and himself for the Patriarch of a senseless and profane Sect. How profound an Humiliation was this! But it is only by the overthrowing of the whole Man, that we can arrive at those divine Virtues, of which Jesus conversed with Ignominy and Shame is the Example and the Model.

The Duke of *Burgundy* expressed a most lively Concern for the Disgrace of *Monseigneur de Cambray*

*Cambray.* The *Abbé de Beau-*  
*mont*, and the *Abbé de Langeron*,  
were soon dismiss'd, as likewise  
*Messieurs Dupuy* and *De l'Echelle*  
Gentlemen of the Sleeve. The  
Duke of *Beauvilliers* would have  
had the same Treatment, if the  
Cardinal *de Noailles* had had as  
little Moderation as *Monsieur de*  
*Meaux*.

The King having sent Word  
to *Monsieur de Cambray* to retire  
into his Diocese, and not to come  
back without Order, he left the  
Court the next Day.

Before he went to *Cambray* he  
wrote the following Letter to the  
Duke of *Beauvilliers*, testifying a  
real Diffidence of himself, and  
promising an entire Submission to  
the Judgment of the Church.

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*At Paris this 3<sup>d</sup> of August, 1697.*

“ **B**E in no Pain, my Lord  
 “ or Concern for me. The  
 “ Affair of my Book is going to  
 “ *Rome*. If I have been mistaken  
 “ the Authority of the holy See  
 “ will set me right, and this is what  
 “ I seek with a docil and submissi  
 “ five Mind. If I have not ex  
 “ plain’d my self well, my Expre  
 “ sions will be corrected and re  
 “ form’d. If the Matter. appear  
 “ to merit a more ample Expli  
 “ cation ; I shall joyfully endeav  
 “ our it by some Additions. In  
 “ my Book expresses no Doctrin  
 “ but what is pure, I shall have the  
 “ Consolation of knowing what  
 “ we ought to believe and what  
 “ to reject. Even in this Case  
 “ shall

“ shall not omit to make any Ad-  
“ ditions, which without Preju-  
“ dice to the Truth, may serve  
“ to enlighten and edify the most  
“ timorous and scrupulous Readers.  
“ But in fine, my Lord, if the  
“ Pope condemns my Book, I shall  
“ be the first, by God’s Grace, to  
“ submit, and shall publish an Or-  
“ dinance to forbid the reading of  
“ it in the Diocese of *Cambray*.  
“ With these Dispositions, which  
“ God gives me, my Mind is at  
“ Peace, and I have nothing more  
“ to do, but to wait the Judg-  
“ ment of my Superior, in whom  
“ I acknowledge the Authority of  
“ Jesus Christ. We must not ap-  
“ pear in the Defence of disinte-  
“ rested Love, but with a sincere  
“ Disinterestedness. The Matter

E

in

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“ in question here is not a Point  
 “ of Honour, nor the Opinion of  
 “ the World, nor the profound  
 “ Humiliation which Nature may  
 “ fear from bad Success. I seem  
 “ to my self to act with Upright-  
 “ ness. I am as much afraid of  
 “ being presumptuous, headstrong,  
 “ and indocil in the Defence of  
 “ Truth, as of being weak, poli-  
 “ tick and timorous. If the Pope  
 “ condemns me, I shall be unde-  
 “ ceiv’d, and so the vanquish’d will  
 “ have all the Profit of the Vic-  
 “ tory. If, on the contrary, the  
 “ Pope does not condemn my  
 “ Doctrine, I will endeavour by  
 “ my Silence and by my Respect,  
 “ to pacify those among my Bre-  
 “ thren, whose Zeal has been  
 “ quickned against me, in charging  
 “ me

“ me with a Doctrine which I do  
“ not less abominate than they,  
“ and which I have always detest-  
“ ed. Perhaps they will do me  
“ Justice when they see my Sin-  
“ cerity and fair Conduct.

“ There are but two things I  
“ insist upon, which make up my  
“ whole Doctrine. The first is,  
“ that Charity is a Love of God  
“ for himself, independent of the  
“ Motive of that Happiness which  
“ is to be found in the Enjoy-  
“ ment of him. The second is,  
“ that, in the spiritual Life of the  
“ most perfect Souls, it is Charity  
“ which goes before and leads all  
“ the other Virtues, animates them,  
“ and directs their several Acts. In-  
“ somuch that in those Souls the  
“ Exercise of Hope and of all the

*vid. Note  
on book  
of the  
210  
that p. 59*



“ other Virtues is ordinarily with  
“ all the Disinterestedness of Cha-  
“ rity it self. I say ordinarily, be-  
“ cause this State is not without  
“ Exception, being only habitual,  
“ and not invariable. God knows  
“ that my Intention has never been  
“ to teach any thing beyond these  
“ Bounds. And I don’t believe  
“ there is any Danger, that the  
“ holy See will condemn a Doc-  
“ trine so well authoriz’d, by the  
“ Fathers, the Schools of Divini-  
“ ty, and so many great Saints,  
“ which the *Roman* Church has  
“ canoniz’d. As for the, Expres-  
“ sions of my Book, if, for want  
“ of being correct, they are capable  
“ of doing Injury to the Truth,  
“ I abandon them to the Judg-  
“ ment of my Superior ; and I  
“ should

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“ should be very sorry to disturb  
“ the Peace of the Church, if my  
“ personal Interest, and the Repu-  
“ tation of my Book were the on-  
“ ly Matters in Question.

“ These, my Lord, are my real  
“ Thoughts and Dispositions. I  
“ am now setting out for *Cambray*,  
“ having made a Sacrifice to God *compa-*  
“ from the Bottom of my Heart, *with p*  
“ of every thing I am capable of <sup>238</sup>  
“ sacrificing to him with respect  
“ to this Affair. Allow me to ex-  
“ hort you to enter into the same  
“ Spirit. I have not been deter-  
“ min'd by any human Regards  
“ or temporal Interests in main-  
“ taining a Doctrine which I be-  
“ liev'd to be true. I neglect not  
“ to acquaint the Pope with all  
“ the Arguments that may support  
E 3 “ it.

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“ it. This is sufficient on my  
“ Part ; it belongs to God to do  
“ the rest, if it be his Cause which  
“ I have defended. Let us not re-  
“ gard the Intentions of Men nor  
“ their Manner of proceeding.  
“ 'Tis God alone we must look  
“ to in all this Affair. Let us be  
“ the Children of Peace, and  
“ Peace shall rest upon us. Bit-  
“ ter indeed will it be, but it will  
“ thereby be only the more pure.  
“ Let us not spoil our upright In-  
“ tentions by any Obstinacy, by  
“ any Heat or Passion, by any  
“ human Industry, by any natu-  
“ ral Eagerness to justify our selves.  
“ Let us simply give an Account  
“ of our Faith. Let us suffer our  
“ selves to be corrected, if we have  
“ need of it, and even patiently  
“ bear

“ bear Correction, tho’ we should  
“ not-deserve it. As for you, my  
“ Lord, Silence, Submission, and  
“ Prayer should be your only  
“ Portion. Pray for me in so  
“ pressing an Exigence. Pray for  
“ the Church which labours under  
“ these Scandals. Pray for those  
“ who act against me, that the  
“ Spirit of Grace may be in them  
“ to undeceive me if I am mi-  
“ staken, or to do me Justice if I  
“ am not. In fine, pray for the  
“ Interest of Prayer it self, which  
“ is in Danger, and which stands  
“ in need of being justified. Perfec-  
“ tion is become suspected of be-  
“ ing criminal, and there needed  
“ not so much to keep Men from  
“ it, who are naturally so mean  
“ spirited and full of themselves.

“ The Doctrine of disinterested  
“ Love is look’d upon as a Source  
“ of Illusion and of horrid Impie-  
“ ty, and Christians have been  
“ trained up, under the Pretext of  
“ Caution and Safety, not to seek  
“ God but from a selfish View. Per-  
“ fect Contrition is forbidden to  
“ Souls the most advanc’d in Piety,  
“ and they are no longer to serve  
“ God from that pure Motive,  
“ which has hitherto been wish’d  
“ might be the first Inducement,  
“ even to Sinners to begin their  
“ Conversion, I mean, *The Good-  
“ ness of God infinitely amiable.*

“ I know that pure Love, and  
“ absolute Resignation are Expres-  
“ sions very much abus’d, and that  
“ *Hypocrites* under the cover of  
“ these fine Words overthrow the  
“ Gospel.

*Perfection with respect to duty to God consists according to Cambrai*  
 1. in being ready & desirous to take up his Cross.  
 2. in being free of Death, in a sense bound to God.  
 3. in love of prayer, in communion with God.  
 4. in complete resignation to his will. . . . Cambrai: Posth. German  
**Mons. de FENELON.** 105 of London.

“ Gospel. But pure Love is not  
 “ therefore less the Perfection of  
 “ Christianity ; and to abolish  
 “ things perfect in themselves, in  
 “ order to prevent the Abuse of  
 “ them, is the worst of all Reme-  
 “ dies. The all-wise God knows  
 “ better how to provide against  
 “ those Abuses, than Men. Let  
 “ us humble our selves, let us hold  
 “ our Peace ; instead of disputing  
 “ about Prayer, let us apply our  
 “ selves to pray. It is by praying  
 “ that we best defend that holy  
 “ Exercise. It is in Silence that  
 “ our Strength shall be.

This Letter was immediately  
 made publick, and every Body ad-  
 mir'd the pacifick Dispositions of  
*Monsieur de Cambray.* There was  
 E 5 nothing

nothing more to do after such a Declaration but quietly to wait the Decision of *Rome*. What Danger could there be from a Man who fear'd to deceive himself, and who desir'd to be set right ?

In the mean time, the Archbishop of *Paris* and the Bishop of *Chartres* in Conjunction transmitted to *Rome* a Declaration against the Book of Maxims, which the Bishop of *Meaux* accompany'd with a Summary of Doctrine, of an odious Nature, which he ascribed to the Archbishop of *Cambray* as the necessary Consequence of his Principles.

*Monsieur de Fenelon* did not at first print his Defences, but sent them to *Rome* in Manuscript. But the Cardinals having signify'd to him  
that



that it was impossible to provide all the Members of the holy Office with such long Memoirs, and that the Accusations against him being made publick in *France*, it was necessary his Defences should be so too; he resolv'd, thereupon, to send them to the Press as Necessity should oblige him to draw them up.

*Messieurs de Paris* and *de Chartres* carried on the Dispute with more Moderation than *Monsieur de Meaux*; nor did they engage entirely in maintaining the same Doctrine with him.

That Prelate began by advancing a Paradox which astonish'd all the Schools. He maintain'd, that mental Prayer supposes necessarily *a multiplicity of distinct Acts*,

*and discursive Meditations*; and that *Passive Prayer*, of which the Mysticks speak, is an extraordinary and miraculous State, which excludes all real Co-operation of Man's Free-will; which, to speak intelligibly, is as much as to say, that it is a thing extraordinary, a thing forc'd and contrary to Nature, to remain in the Presence of the Object we love, and to express our Love by silent Aspirations and amorous Regards, or any otherwise than by long Discourses and studied Harangues. *Monsieur de Paris*<sup>a</sup> declar'd against this Opinion, equally absurd in the order of Nature and of Grace.

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<sup>a</sup> *Pastoral Instruction of the 27<sup>th</sup> of Oct. 1697*

Moreover, *Monsieur Bossuet*, from the Beginning of the Dispute, deny'd the Possibility, not only of an habitual State, wherein the Soul loves God for himself, but likewise of any single Act of pure Love; pretending, that Charity has no Motive but Hope; that is to say, that it is impossible to love an Object for its Perfections, but only for the Benefits we expect from it. *Monsieur de Chartres* at the Head of all the Theologians of the School, and particularly of the Doctors of *Louvain*, abandon'd this Notion as contrary to all natural and religious Sentiments.

That Part of the Dispute, in which the three Bishops were unanimous in opposing *Monsieur de Cambray*, turn'd chiefly upon what follows.

He

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He had always said that Souls, arrived to an evangelical Perfection, perfect the Acts of Hope by those of Charity, and desire not eternal Happiness meerly as a State of Pleasure and Joy, and as it delivers them from the Sufferings of this Life, but as a State which exalts, purifies and consummates their Love. He had made use, like the Mysticks, of the Word *Self-interest*, to signify, not Salvation itself, but the imperfect Motive from which we desire it. But notwithstanding all his Correctives, Explifications, and repeated Protestations, *Monsieur de Meaux* still insisted that that Word was to be understood in the first Sense, and from thence concluded that *Monsieur de Cambray* under the Terms, *Sacrifice*

*Mons. de FENELON.* III

*Sacrifice of Self-interest* taught an Indifference for Salvation.

*Monsieur de Chartres* in his Ordinance approv'd this sinister and odious Interpretation, and tho' *Monsieur de Paris* did not arraign, in his pastoral Letter, the Intentions of *Monsieur de Cambray*, yet he every where insinuated that the Terms of his Book might give Countenance to that Error.

*Monsieur de Paris* and *de Chartres* discontinued very soon to write. *Monsieur de Meaux* carried on the Dispute alone, and overflow'd France with Letters and Replies.

In the Course of this Dispute *Monsieur Bossuet* confesses, that the Book of Maxims is only an Abridgment of those Manuscripts which

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which *Monsieur de Cambray* had given him during the Conferences at *Iffy*. Before the Book was printed, he wrote as we have seen, to *Monsieur de Fenelon*, that he felt only a certain, *He knew not what*, which kept them a little asunder. The Book is no sooner publish'd but this *He knew not what* becomes an impious and profane *Quietism*.

I shall not here display all the Epithets with which *Monsieur de Meaux* characterizes, not only the Doctrine, but the Person of *Monsieur de Cambray*, who never offers any thing in Answer to his harsh Language but Reason and Argument, preserving always the Meekness of a Christian and the Gravity of a Bishop. See here a Sample of his Style.

*Mons. de FENELON.* 113

**I** Pray God, from the very Bot-  
tom of my Heart, that he  
may no otherways give his *Per-*  
*fect Love* a compleat Victory o-  
ver you, but by making you feel  
it with all its Charms. May you  
be inflam'd and consum'd by  
that celestial Fire, which you  
seek to extinguish; may it in-  
spire you with the Zeal of kind-  
ling it every where, and may it  
raise you to the Height of that  
Perfection, from which you are  
endeavouring to estrange o-  
thers.

'Tis with this Moderation and  
Meekness of Temper, that *Mon-*  
*sieur de Cambray* shews what has  
been the constant and universal  
Tradition of the Church. But  
while



while he asserts and maintains the Doctrine of the Contemplatives, he continually submits his Book, and always makes a Distinction betwixt the Doctrine it self, and the Terms which he had made use of to express it.

*Monsieur de Meaux* finding no Success in his Disputes upon *Doctrine*, had Recourse to *Facts*, and publish'd an *Account of Quietism*, wherein he endeavours to make *Monsieur de Cambaay* pass for the blind Admirer of a fanatical Woman. *Monsieur de Cambray* answered this Piece with so much Strength, and at the same time with such extraordinary Moderation, that the whole Publick turn'd against *Monsieur de Meaux*, and were full of Indignation at the

wily

wily Arts by which he had endeavour'd to make the Truth disappear, that he might substitute ridiculous Phantoms in the Place of it.

In the mean time the Book of Maxims was under Examination at *Rome*. The Ministers of that Court us'd their utmost Endeavours to quiet the Storm, and to avoid giving a decisive Judgment against a Prelate of so venerable a Character.

The Book was put into the Hands of the Consultors of the holy Office, who were ten in Number. They held their Assemblies for near eight Months, wrought at it with extraordinary Application, and were at last divided in their Sentiments. Five  
were

were of Opinion to censure the Book, and the other five maintain'd its Doctrine to be sound. The Archbishop of *Chietti*, one of the Consultors, loudly declar'd, "that they ought either to burn the Books of St. *Francis* of *Sales*, "or allow that of *Monsieur de Cambray*." Those of the other Side were divided among themselves, some admitting Propositions, which the others rejected. The Affair at last was brought before the holy Office.

The Pope order'd three Congregations to be held every Week, and the Cardinals were ten Months examining and discussing the whole. Some Days before the final Decision, the Pope propos'd to the Cardinals, to consider among themselves,

elves, whether it would not be  
adviseable to terminate the Dispute  
by an apostolical Decree, whereby  
an Imitation of the Councils, certain  
Canons concerning internal and  
spiritual Religion might be esta-  
blish'd, without condemning ex-  
pressly *Monsieur de Cambray's Book*.  
But the Cardinal *Casa Nata* loud-  
ly rejected this Proposal as giving  
Countenance to the Book of Max-  
ims, which, said his Eminence,  
might create a Misunderstanding  
between *Rome* and *France*.

In Conclusion, after an Exami-  
nation, which lasted eighteen  
Months, the Judgment so long  
expected came forth. Pope In-  
nocent XII. publish'd a Brief con-  
demning the Book and twenty  
three Propositions extracted out of

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all men (say Dupin) upon it.  
pure & disinterested Love: which includes the making  
of fear, hope, desire, reward, & happiness — a Love in  
which [Cambray] makes our perfection to consist.  
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it. *Monsieur de Cambray* submitted without any Hesitation and sent out the following Ordinance, which will be an eternal Monument of his Respect for the Church, and of his Love of Peace.

“ **W**E owe our selves without  
 “ Reserve to you, my  
 “ dearest Brethren ; since we are  
 “ no longer our own, but apper-  
 “ tain to the Flock which is com-  
 “ mitted to us. ’Tis in this Spirit  
 “ that we find our selves oblig’d to  
 “ open to you here our Heart, and  
 “ to continue to impart to you  
 “ what concerns us, in relation  
 “ to the Book of Maxims. Our  
 “ holy Father the Pope, by a  
 “ Brief dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of *March*,  
 “ has condemn’d that Book with  
 “ the

the twenty three Propositions extracted out of it. We adhere to this Brief, my dearest Brethren, as well with regard to the Text of the Book, as to the twenty three Propositions, and this we do absolutely, without Reservation, or Shadow of Restriction.

“ We shall find Comfort, my dearest Brethren, under that which humbles us, provided the Ministry of the Word which we have receiv'd of the Lord for your Sanctification be not weakened thereby; and if, notwithstanding the Humiliation of the Shepherd, the Flock may grow in Grace before God.

“ 'Tis with all our Heart then that we exhort you to a sincere Submission,  
“ mission,

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“ mission, and an unreserv’d Do-  
 “ cility, lest there should insensi-  
 “ bly be a declining from that pure  
 “ Obedience of which we are re-  
 “ solv’d, by the Grace of God,  
 “ to give you an Example to the  
 “ last Breath of our Life.

“ God forbid that we should  
 “ ever be spoken of, but to call  
 “ to mind, that a Shepherd has  
 “ thought it his Duty to be more  
 “ docil than the least Sheep of  
 “ his Flock, and that he has set  
 “ no Bounds to his Obedience.  
 “ Given at *Cambray* this 9<sup>th</sup> of  
 “ *April*, 1699.

While he waited the King’s Or-  
 ders for publishing this Ordinance  
 he wrote the following Letter to  
 the Bishop of *Arras*.

“ Suffe



“ Suffer me, my Lord, to tell you  
“ bluntly, that in keeping Si-  
“ lence you have been too reserv’d.  
“ Who is it that shall speak to me,  
“ if you don’t, who are the An-  
“ cient of our Province? There is  
“ nothing, my Lord, but you may  
“ say to me without Ceremony  
“ or Caution. Tho’ I have a sen-  
“ sible feeling of what has been  
“ doing, I must nevertheless tell  
“ you, that I find my self more in  
“ Peace than I was a Fortnight a-  
“ go. My whole Conduct is de-  
“ termin’d. My Superior, by the  
“ Decision he has made, has dis-  
“ charg’d my Conscience. I have  
“ nothing more to do, but to sub-  
“ mit, to hold my Peace, and to *and: hsk*  
“ bear my Cross in Silence. Shall *p. 104*  
“ I venture to tell you, that to an  
F “ upright

“ upright Man, who will have  
“ his Eye to God alone, and  
“ has no Attach to the World,  
“ this is a State which carries Con-  
“ solation with it? My Ord-  
“ nance is, God be prais’d, be-  
“ come my only Affair, and it  
“ is already prepar’d. I have en-  
“ deavour’d to make Choice of  
“ the most concise, plain, and ab-  
“ solute Terms. It would by this  
“ time have been published;  
“ but that I am waiting the  
“ King’s Order, which I have  
“ requested of *Monsieur de Bar-*  
“ *bezieux*, that I might not trans-  
“ gress the Customs of the King-  
“ dom with regard to the Re-  
“ ception of Bulls and other ju-  
“ ridical Acts of *Rome*. This,  
“ my Lord, is the only thing  
“ which

*Mons. de FENELON.* 123

“ which retards the Publication  
“ of my Ordinance. To humble  
“ one’s self is doubtless painful to  
“ Nature, but the least Resistance  
“ to the *Holy See* would be a  
“ hundred times more so to my  
“ Heart ; and I cannot compre-  
“ hend what room there is to he-  
“ sitate upon such an Occasion.  
“ One suffers, but one does not  
“ deliberate a Moment.

How sincere and how ready  
soever *Monsieur de Cambray’s* Sub-  
mission was, yet certain Persons  
lookt upon it as a Stroke of Po-  
licy ; and the Protestants inter-  
preted the Pope’s Brief, as a Con-  
demnation of the ancient Doctrine  
of the Saints. I cannot better  
clear up these two points, than

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by relating what I have had from *Monsieur de Cambray's* own Mouth. I shall not reason, I shall only repeat what he has often told me.

My Submission, said he, was not a Stroak of Policy, nor a Silence in respect to Men, but an interior Act of Obedience paid to God alone. According to Catholick Principles I lookt upon the Judgment of my Superiors as an Echo of the supreme Will. I did not stop to consider the Passion, the Prejudice, the Disputes which preceded my Condemnation. I heard God speaking, as unto *Job*, out of the midst of that Whirlwind, and say to me, *Who is this that darkneth Counsel by Words without Knowledge?* And I answer'd him from

from the Bottom of my Heart, Since I have spoken unadvisedly, what can I answer? I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth. Since that time, I have sought no Shelter in the vain Subterfuges of the *Questions of Fact and of Right* \*. I submitted to my Condemnation in its full Extent. 'Tis true, that the Propositions, and Expressions I had made use of, with others much stronger, and less qualify'd with Correctives, are to be met with in the canoniz'd Writers, but they were not proper

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\* The *Question of Right* is, Whether the Propositions condemn'd are justly condemn'd or not? The *Question of Fact* is, Whether those Propositions are really contain'd, or not, in the Book where they are pretended to be found?

for a dogmatical Work. Different Persons should speak, and different Subjects be treated of in a different Style. There is a Style of the Heart, and another of the Understanding; a Language proper to express the Motions of the former, and another to explain the Reasonings of the latter. That which is a Beauty in the one is oftentimes an Imperfection in the other. The Church with a wonderful Wisdom allows the one to her simple and artless Children, but she strictly requires the other from her Doctors. She may therefore, according to different Circumstances, without condemning the Doctrine of the Saints, reject their incorrect Expressions, when they come to be abus'd.

This

This was *Monsieur de Cambray's* constant Discourse to me in relation to his Book. How great an Example of Docility!

After Sentence was given against the Book of Maxims, *Monsieur de Cambray's* Adversaries made pressing Application to the Pope, by the *French* Court, to condemn likewise his apologetical Writings. But the sovereign Pontiff, with a Resolution not to be shaken, refus'd to do it, and would never pronounce any thing against those Writings, tho' they were dispers'd in *Rome*, and tho' *Monsieur de Cambray* had therein unfolded the Doctrine of pure Love in a much more ample manner than in his Book of Maxims; an invincible Proof that the Church



has not varied in her Doctrine by prohibiting the incorrect and hyperbolical Expressions of the Saints.

*Monsieur de Cambray* sent very soon his Submission to the Pope, who wrote him a Letter full of Praises of his Doctrine and of his Piety, and gave Orders to Cardinal *Spada* to dispatch it. But the Cardinals of *Monsieur de Meaux's* Party representing to his Holiness, that *France* might take Umbrage at a Letter, which weakened too much the Condemnation of the Book, prevail'd with him to blot out several Parts of it.

His Holiness not long after made three of the five Examiners, who had voted against censuring the Book of Maxims, Cardinals,  
*Rodo-*

*Rodolouric, Archbishop of Chiatti,  
Gabrielli and Sperelli.*

The Condemnation of *Monsieur de Cambray's* Book was worded in such a Manner as naturally to give Offence to the Bishops of France. *Innocent XII.* did not say that the Bishops had voluntarily brought that Affair before his Tribunal *en premiere instance* \*: The Censure was only in Form of a Brief. The Terms usually employ'd in such like Judgments to make them authentick, were omitted. The shocking Expres-

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\* *i. e.* As a Court where the Cause should first be try'd, but from which there lies an Appeal.

sion of *our own Motion*<sup>b</sup> was there. *Monsieur de Cambray's* Adversaries beheld all this with Vexation, but they had too great an Interest in getting the Bull accepted not to pass over these Formalities, which at another Time would have been look'd upon as Incroachments upon the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*.

The King sent Orders to all his Archbishops to assemble as soon as possible their Suffragans in Order to receive the Pope's Bull. *Monsieur de Cambray* was well or ill treated in those Synods

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<sup>b</sup> *Motu proprio*. Which signifies in the Sense of the Court of *Rome* that the Pope decides by Virtue of his sovereign Authority, and as an infallible Judge of Controversy.

according

according as there was found there a greater or a less Number of Bishops devoted to the Court. Some affected to exaggerate his Errors, but the greater Part went no farther than to extol his Submission. He was no where worse treated than in his own Palace, by his Suffragans. Notwithstanding that he had testifi'd by his Ordinance in express Terms, that he adher'd absolutely to the Pope's Judgment, and that he would to the last Breath of his Life give Example of a perfect Docility ; yet the Bishop of St. Omer told him, that his Words did not express an inward Consent and Acquiescence, but still left him a Back-Door to withdraw from his Submission.

The Archbishop took no Offence at so odious an Accusation: But without being discompos'd and with a Meekness and Firmness becoming the episcopal Character, deliver'd himself thus to his Suffragans.

“ You are assembled here, not  
“ to examine my Ordinance, but  
“ to do all of you jointly, what  
“ I have been doing in particular. I shall declare to you with  
“ an entire Openness, as to my  
“ Brethren, and not as to my  
“ Judges, that with the whole Extent of my Heart, I have renounc'd all Thought of explaining my Book. I prefer the Authority of the holy See to my feeble Lights. I am incapable  
“ of

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“ of retracting my Assent to its  
“ Determination under Pretext of  
“ a double Construction, there-  
“ by indirectly to evade my Con-  
“ demnation. It is true, I can-  
“ not confess against my Con-  
“ science that I have ever believ-  
“ ed any of those Errors which I  
“ have been charg’d with ; I only  
“ thought, that my Book with  
“ the Correctives wherewith I be-  
“ liev’d I had qualify’d it, could  
“ neither express nor countenance  
“ any thing erroneous. But I re-  
“ nounce my own Judgment to  
“ conform my self to that of our  
“ holy Father the Pope. I have  
“ endeavour’d by Words fully sub-  
“ missive and humble to accept  
“ the Humiliation which is come  
“ upon me from the Sovereign  
Pontiff.

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“ Pontiff. If his Holiness thinks  
 “ my Submission defective, I am  
 “ ready to supply the Defect, and  
 “ to make it in such manner as  
 “ the holy See shall judge pro-  
 “ per.

The Question being afterwards  
 debated in the same Assembly,  
 whether a Request should be made  
 to the King to suppress his apo-  
 logetical Writings, the Bishop of  
 St. Omer advanc'd, that the Con-  
 demnation of a Book did in it  
 self determine the Suppression of  
 every thing written in Defence of  
 that Book. To this *Monsieur de*  
*Cambray* answered, that he knew  
 no Rule in the Church which  
 supposes the censuring of a Book,

Pop  
 ned  
 leani



*Mons. de FENELON.* 135

as *erroneous* respectively<sup>a</sup>, to be likewise a legal Condemnation of what has been written by way of Apology for it; that he was able to cite Precedents to the contrary, that the Instance of *Jansenius's* Book quoted by *Monsieur de St. Omer* was by no Means conclusive; because every one of that Author's Propositions were termed absolutely heretical; that it did not seem natural to him to go farther than the Pope's Bull, which had neither condemn'd nor prohibited the reading of his apologetical Writings, tho' dispers'd

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<sup>a</sup> *Erroneous* is an Epithet made use of by the Pope to signify, that the Proposition condemn'd is not absolutely *false* or *heretical*, but only leaning to Error.

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in *Rome* it self; that nevertheless he was ready as President to conclude in the Name of the Assembly by the Plurality of Voices. And this he did, but at the same time expressly declaring that it was against his Opinion.

Near a Year after this, an Assembly of the Clergy was held at *St. Germain en Laye*, where the Bishop of *Meaux* was chosen to draw up a Relation of all that had past concerning the Pope's Constitution against the Book of *Maxims*.

That Prelate was very much dissatisfy'd with the gentle Characteristicks made use of by the Pope in his *Brief*, and still more with the Refusal his Holiness had given to comprehend in it the

apologetical Writings of *Monsieur de Cambray*. He resolved therefore to go farther than the Sovereign Pontiff, whom he stiles in his *Verbal Process*, *the first Bishop appointed by Jesus Christ over the whole Flock*, and whose See is according to him, *the Mother Church establish'd to teach and instruct all the other Churches*. The severest Characteristicks given to the Propositions of the Book, by this *first Bishop* and this *Mother Church* are, *Inconsiderate*, *pernicious in the Practice*, and *Erroneous respectively*. But that Prelate accuses *Monsieur de Cambray* of being the Patriarch of a Sect, whose Maxims are not only inconsiderate but impious, not only dangerous in the Practice, but blasphemous

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blasphemous in the Theory, not only *erroneous respectively*, but absolutely heretical. See here the Abridgment he makes of the new Spirituality, in Defence of which *Monsieur de Cambray*, according to him, had appear'd.

“ The Salvation we hope for by  
 “ Jesus Christ, the eternal Glory,  
 “ the Enjoyment of God, and the  
 “ Beatifick Vision, appear things  
 “ of too low a Nature to move  
 “ and affect such Souls as are ar-  
 “ riv'd to the pretended *Pure*  
 “ *Love*. Jesus Christ, as the Sa-  
 “ viour of the World, has too  
 “ great a Reference to Us to be  
 “ the worthy Object of a con-  
 “ templative Soul. To have  
 “ no Concern whether we be  
 sav'd

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“ fav’d or damn’d is what is call’d  
“ *the holy Indifference.* ’Tis easy  
“ to sacrifice in the last Trials what  
“ is held so indifferent, and then  
“ the Sin is realiz’d, the better to  
“ realize Damnation.

’Tis observable that in this same  
*Verbal Process*, wherein Matters  
are carried in so outrageous a Man-  
ner against *Monsieur de Fenelon*,  
the Bishops assembled give Testi-  
mony to the Purity of *Madame*  
*Guyon’s* Life and Conversation, de-  
claring, *that as to the Abamina-*  
*tions which were look’d upon as*  
*the Consequences of her Prin-*  
*ciples, her Innocence was never*  
*call’d in Question, that she had*  
*always testify’d a Detestation of*  
*them.*

This

This authentick Testimonial will be an eternal Monument of that Lady's Innocence; because the Bishops assembled did not give it her till after she had been five Years in Prison. There had been strict Enquiries made during that Time in all the Places where she had been since her Youth: All Persons of her Acquaintance in the Provinces far and near had been examin'd: Threatnings, Promises and Prisons had been employ'd to engage her two Maid-servants, Witnesses for many Years of her Conduct, to say something to her Disadvantage. She her self had been made to undergo diverse captious Interrogatories before different Judges. She had been carried from Prison to Prison in Or-

der

der to shake her Resolution ; from Vincennes to *Vaugirard*, from *Vaugirard* to the *Bastile*. Notwithstanding all this, the Verity of her Answers, the Purity of her Manners, and the Uniformity of her Conduct for so many Years together, forc'd this Acknowledgment of her Innocence from a numerous Assembly of Bishops under the Guidance of *Monsieur de Meaux*.

She remain'd however three Years in Prison sick and in a suffering Condition, after the Prosecution against *Monsieur de Cambray* was over. She continually begg'd that her Crime might be specify'd and prov'd. But her Enemies not being able to make any thing appear against her, she was

at



at length discharg'd out of Custody and exil'd to *Blois*. She liv'd there near twelve Years honour'd and respected for her good Understanding, sincere Piety, pure and modest Virtue, even by those who had had the strongest Prejudices against her. *Monsieur de Cambray* continued always to have the same Friendship and Esteem for her, and the same Confidence in her. She dy'd at length in *Blois* to the tender Regret of her Family and of all her Friends.

The Orthodoxy of her Sentiments, the Purity of her Conversation, and the Truth of what we have said concerning both appear by her Will, a Part of which is taken from the Original, I insert here, because the Acts of dying to

Persons are in all Nations accounted sacred.

**I**N the Name of the Father,  
“ of the Son, and of the  
“ Holy Ghost, to the Honour of  
“ the Word incarnate, under the  
“ Intercession of the holy Virgin  
“ and of *St. Michael*, this is my  
“ last will and testament, which  
“ I pray the Executors hereunder  
“ nam’d to see executed.

“ ’Tis to the Lord, my God,  
“ that I surrender up all that I  
“ am, as it is to him that I owe  
“ all Things. O my God, do  
“ with me whatsoever thou pleas-  
“ est. I make thee an irrevocable  
“ Donation of my Soul and of my  
“ Body, to be dispos’d of according  
“ to thy Will. Thou seest my  
“ Misery

“ Misery and my Nakedness, thou  
“ knowest that there is nothing in  
“ Heaven or on Earth that I  
“ desire but thee alone. Within  
“ thy Hands, O God, I leave my  
“ Soul, not relying for my Salva-  
“ tion upon any Good that is in  
“ me, but solely upon thy Mer-  
“ cies, and the Merits of the  
“ Blood of my Lord Jesus Christ.  
“ I protest, that I die a Daugh-  
“ ter of the Catholick, Aposto-  
“ lick and *Roman* Church; that  
“ I have never had the least In-  
“ clination to depart from this  
“ Sentiment; that, since I have  
“ had the perfect use of Reason,  
“ there has not been a Moment  
“ of my Life, wherein I have not  
“ been ready, in Will at least, to  
“ shed for her the last Drop of

“ my

“ my Blood, as I have always  
“ protested upon every Occasion,  
“ and have given under my Hand  
“ as many times as I have had Op-  
“ portunity, having always and at  
“ all times submitted my Books  
“ and Writings to the holy Church,  
“ my Mother, to whom I have  
“ ever had, and ever will have,  
“ by the Grace of God, an invio-  
“ lable Adherence, and a blind  
“ Obedience; having no other  
“ Sentiments, and resolving ne-  
“ ver to entertain any other but  
“ what she approves, and con-  
“ demning without Restriction  
“ whatsoever she condemns, as has  
“ ever been my constant Prac-  
“ tice.

“ I am oblig’d in Justice to the  
“ Truth, and for my own Justi-

G

“ fica-

“ fication to protest with an  
“ Oath, that false Evidence has  
“ been given against me, that my  
“ Enemies have added to my  
“ Writings, making me think and  
“ say things which I never thought,  
“ and which I was infinitely far  
“ from thinking ; that they have  
“ diverse Times counterfeited my  
“ Hand-Writing, have join’d Ca-  
“ lumny to Forgery, putting cap-  
“ tious Questions to me, refusing  
“ to write what justify’d me, and  
“ adding to my Answers, putting  
“ down what I did not say, and  
“ suppressing the real Facts. I  
“ make no mention of the other  
“ Matters. I forgive those who  
“ have been the Cause of my Suf-  
“ ferings, from the Bottom of my  
“ Heart, whatever they have done  
“ against

*Mons. de FENELON.* 147

“ against me, having no Will to  
“ retain so much as the Remem-  
“ brance of it.

Before we leave this Matter, let us observe the three notable Testimonials given to the Innocence of this Lady in the three principal Periods of her Life. She had been first examin'd by *Monsieur de Harlay*, Archbishop of *Paris*, for the Space of eight Months, and had justify'd her self. Afterwards, *Monsieur de Meaux*, who was powerfully interested to find her criminal, gives her an ample Certificate at the end of a six Month's Examination. Last of all an Assembly of the *Gallican Church*, after a strict Inquiry into her whole Life,

give publick Testimony to her Innocence.

While *Monsieur de Cambray* was labouring under these Misfortunes, his *Telemachus* came abroad and was admir'd by all *Europe*. But tho' the printing of it was against his Intentions, and by the Treachery of a domestick Servant, yet it furnish'd his Enemies with a new Pretext to blacken him with the King, who having been struck with his Submission was beginning to lose his Prejudices against him.

As the Design of that Work was to discover to a young Prince all the hidden Rocks and Shelves to which sovereign Grandeur is expos'd, and to paint to him all the Beauty of kingly Virtues, it was necessary that  
it



it should contain general Portraits which may be applied to Princes in all Ages, and in all Places. Supposing therefore that in the Pictures we meet with in the *Telemachus*, there may be certain Shades which have a Resemblance to the Faults of *Louis le Grand*, we shall at the same time find some bright Colours which display the royal Qualities of that great Prince.

This may be seen by the admirable Apology which *Mentor* makes for Kings at the End of the twelfth Book, which had been omitted in the first Edition.

The new Disciples of St. *Augustin* having seen the Persecution of *Monsieur de Cambray*, made an Offer to him to write in his Defence. *Jansenius*, the *Abbé de*  
G 3 St.

*St. Cyran, Monsieur Paschal, Monsieur Arnaud* had shewn no Dislike to the Doctrine of *Pure Love*. One may find very admirable Passages in their Works, which favour it. Father *Gerberon* a *Benedictin* Monk caused a Letter to be written to *Monsieur de Cambray*, acquainting him that there was a Book ready prepar'd for his Justification, that nothing was requested of him but to consent and contribute to the Impression. To this he gave the following Answer.

“ **Y**OU propose to me to  
“ send Money for the  
“ Printing of a Book written in  
“ Justification of my Faith. I take  
“ for granted, that the Work is  
“ such

“ such as you describe it; that  
“ it reasons solidly upon the true  
“ Points in Question; that it only  
“ justifies my Meaning, and neither  
“ directly nor indirectly vindicates  
“ the Terms of my Book, which  
“ has been condemn’d. You may  
“ easily believe I should little va-  
“ lue the Expence in an Affair  
“ of such Importance. But how  
“ assiduous and diligent soever I  
“ have been to write in my own  
“ Justification, before the Judg-  
“ ment of *Rome*, I am since that  
“ Judgment no less determined to  
“ keep Silence, to suffer in Peace,  
“ and to leave the Care of my  
“ Reputation to Providence.

“ You have read, without doubt,  
“ the Collection of thirty two Pro-  
“ positions, which I endeavour’d to

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“ support by the Authorities of  
 “ the Saints. The true Sense in  
 “ which I intended to write is  
 “ there explain’d. That Work,  
 “ with my other Apologetical  
 “ Writings, has been seen at  
 “ *Rome*, at *Paris*, and every  
 “ where else. I have protested be-  
 “ fore God, in all those Writings,  
 “ that I never believed any thing  
 “ beyond what they contain’d,  
 “ and that I had no Intention to  
 “ favour any of the Errors charg-  
 “ ed upon me. I have since the  
 “ Judgment of *Rome*, repeated the  
 “ same solemn Declaration in the  
 “ *Verbal Process* of our Provin-  
 “ cial Assembly, which is no less  
 “ publick than the *Verbal Pro-*  
 “ *cesses* of the other Provinces,  
 “ or than the Acts of the Gene-  
 “ ral

*Mons. de FENELON.* 153

“ ral Assembly of the Clergy of  
“ *France*. What shall I be able to  
“ add to so many Eclaircissements,  
“ but useless Repetitions? Is there  
“ any thing double or insincere in  
“ this Conduct?

“ I would rather die, than di-  
“ rectly or indirectly defend a  
“ Book, which I have condemn'd  
“ without Restriction in the Sincere-  
“ rity of my Heart, from a Principle  
“ of Docility and Submission to the  
“ holy Sec. Whatsoever I could  
“ say of my personal Meaning,  
“ setting apart the Sense of the  
“ Book, would be look'd upon  
“ as an indirect Method of kind-  
“ ling again the War, and of be-  
“ ginning anew to apologize for  
“ my Work. It is neither edi-  
“ fying nor just for an Author per-

G 5

“petually

*Way  
Tells of the  
prime will  
p. 124  
to all hands  
-standing  
to be corrected  
238*

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“ petually to busy the Church  
 “ with his personal Contests, and  
 “ to chuse rather to continue a  
 “ Disturbance without End, than  
 “ humbly to bear his Cross. When  
 “ a Bishop is not minded in what  
 “ he says concerning his own In-  
 “ tentions, which he has so often  
 “ explained in Writing, to what  
 “ Purpose should he speak any  
 “ more? Such a one can neither  
 “ edify others, nor support the  
 “ Dignity of his own Character  
 “ but by a profound Silence. I  
 “ know too well what the Church  
 “ suffers from the Scandal of such  
 “ Disputes, to be carry’d by a jea-  
 “ lous Fondness for Reputation to  
 “ renew them. God himself will  
 “ take Care of the Honour of his  
 “ Minister, if he vouchsafe to make  
 “ use

*Mons. de FENELON.* 155

“ use of him for the Purposes of  
“ the Ministry in this Diocese.  
“ Those Persons who are neuter  
“ and equitable seem edified by  
“ my Silence, and to have no  
“ doubt of my Sincerity and open  
“ Proceeding in all this Affair;  
“ and nothing I could write would  
“ persuade those who have no  
“ mind to be persuaded.

“ I need not tell you, Sir, that  
“ it would be a Disingenuity un-  
“ worthy of a Christian to refuse  
“ writing any more my self, and  
“ at the same time to be secretly  
“ in Concert with another, who  
“ should write for me. I hope,  
“ therefore, you will neither be  
“ uneasy nor surpriz'd at the Reso-  
“ lution I have taken, to have no  
“ Part either directly or indirect-  
G 6 “ ly



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“ ly in any Work upon this Mat-  
“ ter. I am as sensibly touch’d with  
“ the Friendship of your Offers, as  
“ if I accepted them.

These Thoughts and Dispositions, in Relation to his Book, he always retain’d to the last Moment of his Life.

The Archbishop of *Cambray*, excessively humbled, cover’d with Shame, banish’d and confin’d to his Diocese, enjoy’d there that profound Peace of Mind, which never fails to accompany pure Virtue.

He apply’d himself wholly to make Men good and happy by discharging with great Exactness all the Functions of his Episcopal Character.

Being

*Monsf. de FENELON.* 157

Being desirous personally to prove and know all those who devoted themselves to the ministerial Office, he recalled his Seminary, which was then about eight Leagues off, near *Valenciennes*, to *Cambray*. He assisted at the Examination of the Persons to be ordain'd, which was perform'd at the Archiepiscopal Palace, and so had a near View of every Candidate, at least five times before he ordain'd him Priest. He not only instructed them at the Seasons of their more particular Devotion, and the principal Festivals observed by the Seminary, but had also Conferences with them every Week upon the Principles of Religion. He would have every one propound to him his Difficulties.

He

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He listned to them with an infinite Patience, and gave his Answers with a fatherly Goodness. The Objections made were often wide of the Purpose; yet far from putting the Objector to the Confusion of seeing it, he brought himself down to a Level with him, suited himself to his Capacity, and gave a Strength to the weakest Objections by some Turn, which furnish'd him an Occasion of remounting to first Principles. I have often seen him at these Conferences, and have as much admir'd the Evangelical Condescension by which he became all things to all Men, as the Sublimity of his Discourses.

Notwithstanding the Disorders of the War, he was very assidu-

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*Mons. de FENELON.* 159

ous in his General Visitations of his Diocese, and preach'd in every Church.

Nothing gives a truer Idea of *Monsieur de Cambray's* Genius and Piety, than the different Forms he took in his publick Instructions, that he might suit himself to all Capacities. He let himself down to the most simple, while he soar'd to the Pitch of the sublimest Understandings. All his Sermons came from the Abundance of his Heart, without being written down or hardly premeditated. He only retir'd into his Closet to draw his Light from Heaven in Prayer. Like *Moses* the Friend of God, he went first upon the holy Mountain, and then return'd to the People to communicate to them what he

he had learnt in that ineffable Conversation. In these publick Discourses, Love was the great Point in which he made every thing terminate; but it was such a Love as produces and perfects all the Virtues. He banish'd all too refin'd Ideas, abstracted Reasonings, and superfluous Ornaments which are contrary to Evangelical Simplicity. This delicate Genius sought only to speak as becomes a good Father, and to comfort, relieve and enlighten his Flock.

He would have all the Affairs of the Diocese brought before him, and he examin'd them - himself; yet not doing the least thing of Importance in matter of Discipline, but in Concert with his Vi-

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*Mons. de FENELON.* 161

cars General, and the other Canons of his Counsel who were assembled twice a Week. He never took Advantage from his Rank, or his Talents to decide in any Question by his Authority alone, without Persuasion. He acknowledg'd the Priests for his Brethren, he listned to their Advice and profited by their Experience. " The Shepherd, he us'd often to say, " has yet more need of being " docil than the Flock ; he must be " continually learning, that he may " be able to teach, and must oftentimes obey in order to govern well. The wise Man increases his own Wisdom by all that which he gathers from another.

He

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He did not satisfy himself with performing the superior Functions of a Bishop, but exercised likewise those of a common Priest, confessing and directing a great Number of Laicks who were under his Conduct. A Collection of his Letters written to those Persons has been printed since his Death. One may there, see how very far he was from turning Spirituality into a dry and barren Speculation. We shall find in those Letters the noblest Sentiments founded upon the sublimest Principles, suited to the Capacities of the most simple ; a Knowledge of the Heart of Man, which unveils all its Windings and secret Recesses ; the Subtilties of Self-love, and the Delicacy of Divine Love unfolded and distinguished ;



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guished ; a Piety full of Meekness and Condescension for the Imperfections of others, and yet at the same time a Mortification, or rather a Death, which reaches to the Senses, the Mind, the Heart, over the whole Man, and which leaves no Resource to the irregular Love either of the Creature or of *Self*.

His Practice was agreeable to his Doctrine. Rigid and severe to himself, he affected not however an austere Air, but was chearful and amiable in all his Deportment. He endeavoured to imitate our great Model, whose simple and affable Manner of conversing gave Offence to the *Pharisees* of his Time. He slept little, eat less, and allowed himself no Pleasure but what is  
† found

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found in the Accomplishment of ones Duty. To take the Air was his only Recreation during the whole time that he was Archbishop of *Cambray*.

When he went thus abroad he spent the time either in useful Conversation with his Friends, or in seeking some Occasion to do good to the People of his Diocese. If he chanc'd to meet with any of the Peasants in his Way, he sometimes sat down with them upon the Grass, ask'd them Questions about the State of their Family, and gave them Advice how to regulate their little Affairs, and to lead a religious Life. Nay, he sometimes went into their Cottages to speak to them of God, and to comfort them under the Hardships

ships they suffer'd. If those poor People presented him any Refreshments after the Country Fashion he did not disdain to taste what they set before him, that he might give them a Mark of his Friendship. He shewed no false Delicacy with regard either to the Poverty of their Condition, or the Uncleanliness of their Habitations. He became in a manner one of them through the fatherly Tenderness of a Heart deeply affected with the Love of a Saviour poor and naked.

Poor himself in the midst of Plenty, he gave almost all his Revenue away to Hospitals, young Clergymen whom he educated, Monasteries of Nuns in Distress, decay'd Gentlemen, and Persons  
of

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of all Ranks and all Nations, who during the War time were within the Reach of his Generosity.

While he thus watched over his Flock like St. *Ambrose*, he pray'd, like St. *Anthony*, in the Desert of an internal Solitude. Those things which were generally admir'd in him were nothing in Comparison of that Divine Life by which he *walked with God, like Enoch, and was unknown to Men.*

The ordinary State of the Mind of Man is a kind of Delirium. The Soul is continually agitated by an unaccountable Succession of roving Thoughts and contrary Passions. The *Pagan* Philosophers were sensible, that Man can never be happy till he arrive at that

*inward*  
*inward* Part. 1. ch. 3 § 8  
 108 10. XI § 2. 7. 10  
 ch. 12  
 Part 1. 2<sup>d</sup> ch. 3 § 12 Part. 14

*inward Tranquillity which excludes not only unprofitable Actions, but even useless Thoughts<sup>a</sup>.*

'Tis however Christianity alone that can raise us to such a State by that Peace of the Holy Spirit, that Unity and Simplicity of which the Gospel speaks.

This is that divine, internal Quietude to which *Monsieur de Cambray* endeavour'd to attain, while he was outwardly employ'd in accomplishing the Duties of Humanity, Religion, and his Vocation. He dismiss'd as fast as they arose all useless Ideas and disquieting Desires, to the end that

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<sup>a</sup> Moral Reflections of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*.

“ Pleasure shall be to decrease,  
“ to become little and obscure,  
“ to live in Silence, and to the  
“ *Opprobrium* of Jesus crucify’d,  
“ to add the Helplessness and im-  
“ perfect Utterance of Jesus a  
“ Child.

To die thus to ones Understanding must have been a thing more painful to *Monsieur de Cambray*, than to another. He understood throughly the Principles of almost all the *Liberal* Sciences, and made Use of them to discover the Truth in every Thing, and to make Men love it. But he neglected that pompous Erudition, which serves only to swell the Mind with Pride. When it was necessary to study, he went as  
deep

deep into things as any Body, but he never studied but when it was necessary, because he thought it his Duty to renounce all the false Riches of the Mind, and to be wise with Sobriety. This is what the Doctors who are ever toiling about frivolous Questions will never be able to comprehend.

By his constant Fidelity in the Observation of this Rule, he at length came to such a Diffidence of himself, that without the least Confusion, Positiveness, or Fondness for his own Ideas, he readily blotted out whatever was found Fault with in his Works. I have oftentimes more admired this Docility in changing, than his Fertility in producing.



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*Monsieur de Cambray* had no Thought but of thus living in the peaceable Exercise of his Episcopal Functions, when the Discords about *Grace* came to trouble his Repose.

This Dispute drew upon him the bitterest Reproaches, and the cruellest Slanders. He was look'd upon as a politick and ambitious Man, whose only Aim was to be recall'd to Court.

In order to shew the Uniformity and Uprightness of his Conduct, and how much he acted from a Principle of Conviction, it is necessary to give here an Analysis of his Sentiments upon the Topick of *Grace*, by which we shall see that he never opposed the

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the true *Thomism*<sup>a</sup>. His Principles are as follow.

“ We have no Liberty, according to *Monsieur de Cambray*, “ with  
“ Regard to supernatural good,  
“ without the Grace of the Re-  
“ deemer. This Grace not only  
“ enlightens the Understanding  
“ with the eternal Truths, but it  
“ prevents the Will, delivers it  
“ from the Chains of Concupis-  
“ cence, excites and moves it, and  
“ puts it always in a Condition  
“ to consent to the divine Ope-  
“ ration. But this redeeming  
“ Grace is never more strong to

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<sup>a</sup> The Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*.

*Major. Morale. 4. l. c. VIII 93*

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“ make the will consent, than the  
 “ Will is to resist it.” This is  
 what *Monsieur de Cambray* calls  
 an *Equilibrium*<sup>a</sup>. When we do  
 well

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<sup>a</sup> *Monsieur de Cambray's* Adversaries have expounded this *Equilibrium*, as if one could not be free, but by having an Inclination equally strong towards Good and towards Evil. Nothing can be more contrary to his Ideas. His *Equilibrium* of Power is not an *Equilibrium* of Inclination. He says expressly that this *Equilibrium* does not consist in an Equality of two opposite Kinds of Pleasure, but in an Equality of Strength between the Attraction of the Temptation, and the Power of the Will fortify'd by Grace. One may have a real Power to act against the strongest Inclinations. The Habits of Good and Evil never destroy Liberty. The more we are confirm'd in the one, the more we lose of our Aptness to the other. But the Soul never loses its Mobility, till it be fix'd by Death in a perfect Immobility with the Angels, or the Devils. The Word *Equilibrium* is not a new one. St. Basil makes use of it in the same Sense

well we do but consent to the Operation of God who disposes us by his Grace so to consent. When we do ill we do but resist the Operation of God, who does nothing in us without our own Concurrence, to the End that he may make us merit.

By this Doctrine all Good is attributed to the Creator, without making him the Author of Evil. Nothing remains to the Creature without Grace, but the wretched Power of depraving and corrupting it self, or at most of doing

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Sense as *Monsieur de Cambray*, in his Homily upon the 61<sup>st</sup> Psalm. I owe this Remark to the Reverend Father *De Tournemine* a Jesuite, for whom *Monsieur de Cambray* had a particular Regard and Friendship.

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that from Self-love, which ought to be done for the Love of God only. It cannot without this Grace do any Action of which God is the End, nor of which by Consequence he will be the Recompence.

According to *Monsieur de Cambray* the System of the two *Delectations* destroys liberty. All is the Effect of a delicious Sensation which seizes unawares and invincibly draws away the Will, by a sweet Violence indeed, but which leaves it no Choice in the actual Moment. The Will is free only in as much as it may have different Motions at different Times. So that by this System the Liberty of the Soul is reduced to the Mobility of a Stone which can be

I sup<sup>pose</sup> more  
great  
apparent  
pleasure  
than  
any other  
will be  
way

I guess the many Delights felt in  
sensual things - & I wish felt in  
spiritual & draw one into another rather than  
enjoying accordingly as it happens to some  
at times of greater or less

shov'd

shov'd sometimes to one Side sometimes to another; and free Choice is the use which God can make of Man's Will, and not the Use we make of it our selves.

Moreover, according to *Monsieur de Cambray*, this System destroys the Notion of Charity as distinguish'd from Hope. We consider God in no other View but as the Author of Happiness. The Idea of infinite Perfection, (the true Motive of Charity,) is the clearest and most luminous of all Ideas, yet it strikes and moves us less sensibly than the Perception of finite Objects. It acts only upon the most spiritual Part of a Man, who has labour'd long in purifying and separating himself from sensible Objects. A Heart, the only

H s ly

ly Spring of whose Motions is Pleasure, can never be touch'd with it. The Love of such a Heart never goes beyond *Attrition*. To love God for the Pleasures he gives us, or to love him for fear of being depriv'd of those Pleasures, amounts to the same Thing. The Church condemns all *Quietism*, which renounces *Chaste Hope*; but it abhors all *Jansenism* which banishes *Pure Charity*. She will have us exercise the Acts of both these Virtues. She distinguishes and unites them, without destroying either.

In fine, according to *Monsieur de Cambray*, this System renders Virtue oftentimes impracticable. If Pleasure were the only moving Spring of Man's Heart, and the



the only Reason of our free Determinations, it would be impossible to love Virtue when it is not accompanied with a sensible Delectation : For the Will cannot love without a Reason for loving, nor be moved without a moving Power ; so that Piety is hereby reduced to a spiritual Sensuality, which can never inspire us with any noble Virtue, and which often leaves us without Remedy against Vice. See in what manner *Monsieur de Fenelon* represents a Man speaking in the time of Temptation, who acts by these Principles.

“ The heavenly Sweetness has  
“ forsaken me. I feel no Plea-  
“ sure but what is vicious and cor-

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rupt.

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“ rupt. I expected to be conti-  
“ nually deliver’d from all my  
“ Weaknesses by the efficacious  
“ Power of a delicious and invin-  
“ cible Grace. I look’d upon the  
“ Life of a Christian to be a reli-  
“ gious Inchantment. I pleas’d  
“ my self with the Thoughts of  
“ going strait to Paradise by a Way  
“ strewd with Roses. I wept for  
“ Joy. Heaven seem’d already  
“ open to receive me. I blest God  
“ for having put me under a ne-  
“ cessity in this Life to be hap-  
“ py in the other. But alas,  
“ how great a Disappointment  
“ have I met with within these six  
“ Months past. The Source of  
“ pious Pleasure is of a sudden  
“ dry’d up. I feel no other but  
“ that of Sin. In my present Con-  
“ dition”

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" dition it is as impossible for me,  
" according to the Expression of  
" our Doctors, to resist the victo-  
" rious Pleasure of Vice, as it is  
" to ride Post without a Horse.

*Monsieur de Cambray* from hence concludes, that there is a Love of Order, of *absolute Pulchritude* and *Perfection*, superior to all agreeable Sensation, which can act in us when the sensible Pleasure of Grace is wanting, and which is sufficient to move the Will under all the Pains and Deprivations that are met with in the sacred paths of Virtue. Thus it was that, according to this Prelate, the Saints, in Imitation of their great Model, remain'd faithful to God under the most terrible Sufferings. The Capacity

*Malbranck*

capacity of their Soul was fill'd with the purifying Pains of Love, and yet these divine Lovers continued stedfast in their Submission to the supreme Will; not because it was delightful, but because it was just. The Spring by which God then moved them was not any Impression of Pleasure, but the pure Knowledge he gave them of what was due to him. For they were oftentimes depriv'd of all Consolation both heavenly and earthly, so as to cry out with their divine Head, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

This Idea then of *Monsieur de Cambray's* concerning the twofold Spring of the Will is a necessary Consequence of his Doctrine upon Pure Love. *Monsieur de Meaux*  
by

*Mons. de FENELON.* 183

by combating this Doctrine has taken away all Foundation of Argument against *Jansenism*. He has left no Remedy but that of Authority, to overbear without convincing. *Monsieur de Cambray* makes always the Decision of the Church to accord with the justest Reasonings. He reconciles Obedience with Persuasion. He brings all back to a Unity of Principles, and is ever of a Piece with himself.

The *Jansenists* have no Way left to defend themselves against him, but by alledging that he was not an able Theologian. Which is just as if one should say, that a Lawyer is not skilful in his Profession, because he does not perplex his Question with obscure Terms, tho' he unfolds the  
Meaning

Meaning of the Laws by plain and clear Principles, and such as are always approv'd by the Legislator.

His Adversaries have accused him of advancing extravagant Notions about the Authority of the Church. His three Principles to which Exception is taken are as follow.

1. The Approbation whether tacit or exprefs of a Plurality of the Bishops, whether assembled or dispersed, gives the sacred Character of an Article of Faith to whatever Decision is made by the Sovereign Pontiff.

2. The Church is the only Judge of the Bounds of her own Authority ;

rity; otherwise every private Man would think himself entitled to contradict her Decisions, under Pretence that she had exceeded her just Bounds.

3. The Church is as infallible in judging of sound Words, as of sound Doctrine, otherwise her Infallibility would be useless. For, since it is by Words only that Thoughts are known, if while she thought well, she spoke ill, her Canons would be more hurtful than if she thought ill and spoke well. Hence he concludes, that we must submit to the Church when she condemns, not the personal and private Meaning of an Author, of which she does not pretend to judge, but the natural and



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and obvious Sense of his Words. 'Tis evident from the bare proposing of these Maxims, that they are natural and necessary Consequences of Catholick Principles.

While *Monsieur de Cambray* was thus engag'd in supporting the Truth, he was very far from losing his Charity through a bitter, haughty and Judaical Zeal. He never acted the Tyrant in his Diocese. In attacking the Prejudices of Men, he was ever tender of their Persons, and respected their Virtues. Nevertheless those who were unacquainted with his Character have imagin'd that he rejoyc'd at the Disgrace of the Cardinal de *Noailles*. See how he expresses himself upon that Head in a Letter to a Friend a Year before his Death.

Cambray

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Cambray *the* 12<sup>th</sup> of March, 1714.

“**M**OST People may ima-  
“ gine that I have a secret  
“ and malicious Joy at what is  
“ doing. But I should think my  
“ self a Demon if I had any Re-  
“ lish of so detestable a Joy, and  
“ if I was not sincerely grieved at  
“ what is so prejudicial to the  
“ Church. Nay more, I shall  
“ profess to you with a perfect O-  
“ penness of Heart, what few but  
“ your self would easily believe,  
“ which is, that I am truly con-  
“ cern’d for the Person of the Cardi-  
“ nal *de Noailles*. I represent to  
“ my self all his Pains. I feel them  
“ for him. I never think of past  
“ times, but to call to mind the  
“ Favours. with which he ho-  
“ nour’d

“nour’d me for so many Years. All  
“the rest is, God be prais’d, blot-  
“ted out of my Heart, which is  
“still the same towards him. I  
“look to nothing but the Hand  
“of God, who thought fit to  
“humble me through Mercy.  
“God himself is Witness of the  
“Sentiments of Respect and Zeal  
“he gives me for the Cardinal.  
“The Piety I have observ’d in  
“the Cardinal *de Noailles* makes  
“me hope that he will overcome  
“himself to restore Peace to the  
“Church, and to silence all the  
“Enemies of Religion. The most  
“violent and untractable Spirits  
“would be immediately brought  
“to Temper by his Example. It  
“would gain him a singular Glory  
“for all Ages to come. I pray  
“for

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" for him every Day at the Al-  
" tar with the same Zeal I had  
" twenty Years ago.

In the Year 1710 I had the Honour to see *Monsieur de Cambray* for the first time. I think myself oblig'd to relate the Conversations I had with him upon Religion; because they will shew his Way of thinking, and will make appear at the same time, that the Piety he taught, far from leading to a refin'd Deism, and to an Independance on all visible Authority, as his Adversaries have insinuated, furnishes, on the contrary, the most solid Proofs of Christianity and of the Catholick Religion.

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*Island*

Born in a free Country where the Mind of Man discovers it self in all its Forms without Restraint, I ran through the greatest Part of the Religions there profess'd in the Search of Truth. The Fanaticism or the Contradiction which prevails in all the different Systems of the Protestants gave me an Aversion to all Sects of Christians.

As my Heart was not corrupted by the great Passions, my Understanding could not relish the Absurdities of Atheism. To believe that nothing was the Source of whatever is, a Thing finite to be eternal, or an infinite Being to be only a Collection of finite Beings, seem'd to me Extravagancies more insupportable than the

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able to find a fix'd Point. It was in these Dispositions that I came to *Cambray*.

The Archbishop received me with that fatherly and insinuating Goodness which immediately gains the Heart. I enter'd with him for the Space of six Months into a very extensive Examination of Religion. I shall not be able to repeat here all that he said to me upon that Subject. I shall only relate the Substance of it. I unfolded my Principles to him pretty near in the following Manner.

God requires no other Worship but the Love of his infinite Perfection. From hence flow all the Virtues, human and divine, moral and political. All the Philosophers, all the wise Men, all Nations



tions have had some Idea of this natural Religion ; but they have blended it with Doctrines more or less true, and have express'd it by a Worship more or less proper. All Sorts of Religions are agreeable to the Sovereign Being, while Men make use of the Ceremonies, Opinions, and even Errors of their Sect to carry them to the Adoration of the Deity. There must indeed be an outward Worship; but the different Forms of this Worship, like the different Forms of Civil Government, are more or less good according to the use which is made of them. I can never allow that true Religion should be confin'd to any particular Society. I admire the Morality of the Gospel, but as for all speculative Opinions,

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nions, they are things indifferent, and of which the Sovereign Wisdom makes little Account. To this he answer'd :

You cannot continue in your Philosophical Independence, and in your indeterminate Principle of tolerating all Sects, without looking upon Christianity as an Imposture ; for there is no reasonable Medium betwixt Deism and the Catholick Religion.

This Notion seem'd to me a Paradox. I begg'd him to explain it, and he continued in the following manner :

We must either confine our selves to natural Religion founded upon the Idea of God, and reject all supernatural and revealed Laws ; or if we admit a supernatural Revelation,

velation, we must acknowledge some supreme Authority continually speaking to interpret it. The Christian Church without such a fix'd and visible Authority would be like a Republick, to which wise Laws had been given, but without Magistrates to put them in Execution. What a Source of Confusion! Each particular Man with the Book of Laws in his Hand would come to dispute about their Meaning. The sacred Oracles would serve only to feed our vain Curiosity, to increase our Pride and Presumption, and to make us more tenacious of our own Opinions. There would indeed be but one original Text, but as many different Manners of explaining it as there were Men. Di-

visions and Sub-divisions would multiply without End and without Remedy. Can we think that our Sovereign Lawgiver has not provided better for the Peace of his Republick and for the Preservation of his Law?

Moreover, if there be no infallible Authority which may say to us all, *This is the true Meaning of the Holy Scripture*: How can we expect that illiterate Peasants or simple Mechanicks should engage in a Discussion, wherein the Learned themselves cannot agree? God would have been wanting to the Necessities of almost all Men, if, when he gave them a written Law, he had not at the same time provided them a sure Interpreter to spare them a Research of which  
they

they are incapable. Every simple and sincere Man has need of nothing more than a just Sense of his Ignorance, to see the Absurdity of the Sects who found their Separation from the Catholick Church upon the Offer to make him Judge of such Matters as are beyond the natural Capacity of his Understanding. Ought one to hearken to the new Reformers who require that which is impossible, or to the ancient Church which provides for the Weakness of Men?

In fine, we must either submit to this Church, or reject the Bible as a Fiction.. Consult the sacred Writings. Examine the Extent of the Promises made by Jesus Christ to the Hierarchy, the Depositary

of his Law. He says, that *whatsoever it shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven*; that *he will be with it to the End of the World*; that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*; that *he who hears it, hears him*; that *he who despises it, despises him*; and in fine, that *it is the Pillar and Ground of Truth*. You cannot evade the Force of these Expressions by any Commentary; you have no Remedy but by rejecting the Authority both of the Lawgiver and of his Law.

What, said I, my Lord, with some Emotion, would you have me look upon any Society on Earth as infallible? I have run through the most Part of the different Sects, and suffer me to tell  
you

*Mons. de FENELON.* 199

you with all due Respect, the Priests of all Religions are oftentimes more corrupt or more ignorant than the rest of Men. I equally suspect them all.

He answered me with great Meekness and Moderation. If we do not raise our Thoughts above what is human in the most numerous Assemblies of the Church, we shall find nothing but Matter to shock and offend us, and to increase our Incredulity; we shall discover nothing but Passions, Prejudices, human Weaknesses, politick Views, Factions and Cabals. But we ought so much the more to admire the Wisdom and Almighty Power of God, in that he accomplishes his Designs by such Means as seem naturally



to tend to their Destruction. 'Tis here that the Holy Spirit shews himself Master of the Heart of Man. He makes even those Things, which appear faulty in the particular Pastors, a Means to the Accomplishment of his Promises, and by a Providence continually attentive watches the Moment of their Decision and makes it always conformable to his Will. It is thus that God acts in all and by all. Both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers are held in a total Subjection to his Laws. Every thing accomplishes his Designs either freely or by Necessity. It is not the Holiness of our Superiors, nor their personal Talents which make our Obedience a divine Virtue, but the inward Sub-

Submission of the Mind to the Order of God.

I desir'd him to give me time to weigh the Force of his Arguments. I revolv'd them in my Mind, I examin'd them Night and Day. In Conclusion, after a long Research, I plainly perceiv'd, that one cannot admit a reveal'd Law without yielding Submission to its living Interpreter. But this Truth made quite another Impression upon me than naturally it ought to have done. My Soul was surrounded with thick Mists. I felt all the Attacks of Incredulity.

Whilst I was in this extreme Agitation of Spirit, I had a violent Temptation to leave him. I began to suspect his Integrity. There was but one Way to get the bet-

ter of my Uneasiness, which was to make him the Confident of it. What Struggles did I not suffer before I could bring my self to such a Simplicity ! It was however absolutely necessary. I requested therefore to have a private Audience, which when he had granted, I said to him upon my Knees, "Forgive, my Lord, the Excess of my Uneasiness. I suspect your Candour, and I can no longer listen to you with Docility. If the Church is infallible, you have then condemn'd the Doctrine of Pure Love by condemning your Book of Maxims. If you have not condemn'd that Doctrine, your Submission was feigned. I see my self under the hard Necessity of believing you either

" an

“ an Enemy of *Charity* or of  
“ *Truth.*” I had scarce pronounc’d  
these Words when I burst into  
Tears. He rais’d me up, embrac’d  
me with Tenderness, and spoke to  
me in the following Manner.

“ The Church has not con-  
“ demn’d the Doctrine of Pure  
“ Love in condemning my Book.  
“ That Doctrine is taught in all  
“ Catholick Schools ; but the  
“ Terms which I had made use  
“ of to explain it were not pro-  
“ per in a Dogmatical Work.  
“ My Book is good for no-  
“ thing. I set no Value upon  
“ it. It was the untimely Pro-  
“ duction of my Brain, and by no  
“ Means the Fruit of a divine  
“ Unction upon my Heart. I

“ will not have you read it.” He then told me all that I have before related in speaking of that Book, and explain’d the Matter to me throughly.

This Conversation remov’d my Uneasiness with regard to his Person. Nevertheless my Doubts about Religion increas’d. I saw that in reasoning philosophically one must either become Deist or Catholick. But sober Deism appear’d to me a more reasonable Extreme than Catholicity. I fell into a deep Melancholy. Some Weeks pass’d before I was able to speak to him. He attempted several Times to discover the Thoughts of my Heart, and apply’d himself to it after so insinuating a manner, that I was not able

to resist him. I said to him at last with a trembling Voice,

Your late Conversation has made a strange Impression upon me. All my reading and Researches are no longer of any use. I see plainly that there is no *Medium* between Deism and Catholicity, but rather than believe all that the Catholicks commonly believe, I chuse to throw my self into the other Extreme. I intrench my self in that pure Deism which is equally remov'd from an insipid Credulity, and an extravagant Incredulity. My Faith disingag'd from the Multiplicity of uncertain, subtil and shocking Opinions confines it self to the eternal, universal and immutable Religion of *Love*. Every Man may perceive and feel the Truth of  
this

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this Religion, if he does but enter into his own Breast.

How few are there, reply'd he, who are capable of entring so into themselves to consult the Dictates of pure Reason? Supposing that there are here and there some Men who might be able to walk in such a purely intellectual Way, yet the Generality of Mankind are incapable of it, and have need of an exterior Help. The Mind is no less blinded by its refin'd and hidden Passions than by those of a grosser Nature. First Truths are very often overlook'd by the most philosophical Genius's. There are no fix'd Principles to be found that can stop them in that Torrent of Uncertainties which hurries them along. As in civil Societies



cieties it was necessary to put Reason into Writing: to reduce its Precepts into a Body of Laws; to establish Magistrates for their Execution, because all Men are not in a Condition to consult and follow of themselves the Law of Nature: So likewise in Religion, Men not being dispos'd to hear with Attention, or to follow through Love the internal Voice of the Sovereign Wisdom, nothing was more worthy of God than to speak himself to his Creature in a sensible Manner, in order to convince the Incredulous, fix the Visionaries, instruct the Ignorant, and reunite all in the Belief of the same Truths, the Practice of the same Worship, and in a Submission to the same Church. Why do you

quarrel  
 with the Church of Christ & State: & against  
 the Kingdom of God in the world (Book II. § 2.)  
 Strongly against the world

quarrel with a Help so necessary for human Weakness, and without which the most learned and polite Nations have fallen into the grossest Errors with regard to the Deity and the Duties of Morality?

The Philosophy of Love, said I, interrupting him hastily, is common to all Minds, to all Nations, to all Religions. We find the Traces of it even in the Bosom of Paganism. Simple and artless Souls have perhaps better practis'd it than the Philosophers have talkt of it. Every Sect has mix'd with it some absurd Opinions. I find such in the Bible as well as elsewhere. But excuse me, my Lord, from talking upon this Head. I fear to speak evil of things I know not.

He

*indistinct handwriting*

He continued some time in Silence, and then answer'd me.

He who has not gone through all those Struggles which you feel in the Way to Truth is unacquainted with its Value. Unbosom yourself to me. Be not afraid of shocking me. I see your Wound; it is deep, but not without Remedy, since you lay it open.

I proceeded thus: The Law-giver of the *Jews* appears to me to represent the Sovereign Being as a Tyrant, who makes all Mankind miserable, because their first Parents ate of a forbidden Fruit. It was impossible that before their Existence they should have any Share in that trivial Fault, and yet nevertheless God punishes them for it, not only by bodily Sufferings  
and

and Death; but by giving them over to all their Passions, and in the End to eternal Torments. According to the common Belief, God forgets all other Nations of the Earth to mind only a stupid, rebellious, unjust and cruel People, whose Doctrines and Manners seem unworthy of the Deity.

A second Lawgiver comes. His Morality is more sublime, and his Manners more pure. I do not say with certain bold Wits, that he was an Impostor. I believe him to have been an excellent Philosopher, who had no other View but to make Men good and happy, by teaching them the true Worship of the Supreme Being. But the pretended Depositaries of this Law have drown'd

in a Multitude of absurd Fables, obscure Doctrines, and frivolous Opinions, which make the Creator appear less amiable to his Creature.

He heard me to the End with a wonderful Tranquillity, and then said,

God has so temper'd the Light and the Shade in his holy Oracles, that this Mixture is a Source of Life to those who seek the Truth in order to love it; and an Abyss of Darkness to those who withstand it, that they may flatter their Passions. The greatest part of the Objections, you have been making, are false and malicious Turns, which are given by incredulous Men to Religion. Hear me, I beseech you, with Attention for one Instant, and I will give

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give you another Plan of the Bible.

God will have all his Creatures to love him as *He deserves*, before they be admitted to see him as *He is*. The luminous Vision of his Essence would invincibly determine us to love him ; but he seeks to be lov'd with a free Love, a Love of pure Choice. 'Tis for this Reason that all free Beings pass through a State of Trial before they arrive at the supreme Happiness of their Nature. The Beginning of their Existence is a Noviceship, a Time for the Probation of their Love.

The Angels and our first Parents having abus'd their Liberty in a Paradise of Immortality and Pleasures, God chang'd our State

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of Trial into a mortal State, where-  
in Good and Evil are mingled to-  
gether; to the end that our Ex-  
perience of the Vanity and No-  
thingness of the Creatures might  
carry us to aspire continually after  
a better Life. Since that Time  
we all come into the World with  
a Propensity to Evil. Our Souls  
are condemn'd to earthly Prisons,  
which darken our Understanding,  
and weigh down our Will. But  
through the Grace of the Redeemer,  
this Concupiscence is not an invin-  
cible Violence which overpowers  
us; 'tis only an Occasion of fight-  
ing, and thereby a Source of Me-  
rit. To love God in a State of  
Deprivation and Sufferings is more  
meritorious, than to love him, as  
the Angels do, in a State of En-  
joyment



joyment and Pleasures. Here is that Mystery of the Cross which gives so much Offence to the Imagination and Self-love of profane Men.

We are all then born diseas'd ; but the Remedy is ever at Hand to cure us. The Light which enlightens every Man that comes into the World is never wanting. That Sovereign Wisdom has spoken at different Times and in different Places after different Manners ; to some by a supernatural Law, and the Miracles of the Prophets ; to others by the Law of Nature, and the wonderful Works of the Creation. " Every Man shall be  
" judg'd by the Law which he  
" has known, and not by that  
" which he has not known. No

" one

*Mons. de FENELON.* 215

“ one shall be condemn'd but for  
“ neglecting to profit by what he  
“ knew, that he might merit to  
“ know more<sup>a</sup>.

God came himself at last, cloath-  
ed in the Likeness of our Flesh,  
to expiate Sin, and to give us a  
Pattern of that Worship which is  
due to him. He cannot pardon  
the Criminal, without shewing his  
Detestation of the Crime. This is  
what he owes to his Justice, and this  
is what Jesus Christ alone could do.  
He has shewn to Men, to Angels  
and to all the heavenly Spirits  
the infinite Aversion of the Deity  
for the Violation of Order, since  
it cost such Pains and Agonies to  
the Man-God.

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<sup>a</sup> St. *Augustin.*

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Moreover, this Sacrifice of Jesus Christ, offer'd up in Homage to the Divine Holiness, his profound Annihilation before the Supreme Being, and his infinite Love of Order shall be the everlasting Model of the Love, Adoration and Homage of all intelligent Natures.

They shall thence learn what is due to the Infinite Being, when they behold the Worship he pays to himself by his holy Humanity.

The Religion of this eternal High Priest consists only in *Charity*. The *Sacraments*, the *Ceremonies*, the *Priesthood* are but salutary Aids to succour our Weakness, outward and sensible Signs to increase in our selves and o

*Religion accurately speaking consists in truth is in acting like  
 I am here: in the manner of Jesus Christ. You are with  
 God that self. — indeed this is the coin of the  
 love of God is imitation of him: — giving, not receiving  
 public life: — but pure fanatical love is very  
 of a whole of Religion*

thers the Knowledge and Love of  
our common Father ; or in fine, ne-  
cessary Means to keep us within  
the Bounds of Order, Union and  
Obedience.

Very soon these Means shall  
cease ; the Shadows shall disappear ;  
the true Temple shall be open'd ;  
our Bodies shall be rais'd again glo-  
rious, and God shall communi-  
cate eternally with his Creatures,  
not only as God, but under a hu-  
man Form too, that he may shew  
us at once both the Mysteries of  
his Essence and the Wonders of  
his Creation.

You see here the general Plan  
of Providence. This is, so to  
speak, the Philosophy of the Bible.  
Can any Thing be more worthy  
of God, or give greater Consola-

tion  
K  
Eas of Religion to prove & from of Ed: & advance  
our intellectual nature. what is to be accomplished  
God hath, & some converse with words, & a ha  
mental Religion. viz: do. & 1. Temp. & 2. spiritual. B. 1. 15.  
after an

tion to Man than these high and noble Ideas? Ought we not to wish them true, though we were not able to demonstrate the Truth of them?

May we not suppose, said I then to him, that *Moses* and *Jesus Christ* have form'd this fine System merely as Philosophers, and without any divine Mission? May they not have feign'd an Intercourse with the Deity, not to deceive Men, but to gain Credit to their Law, and to make us good and happy by instructing us in true Morality?

To this he answer'd me: *Moses* and *Jesus Christ* have prov'd their Mission by supernatural Works, which bear the Characters of an infinite Wisdom and Power.

I shall

I shall say nothing of the Miracles of *Moses*, nor of the uncorrupted Transmission to our time of those Books which contain the History of them. You will see that Matter excellently well treated in *Monsieur de Meaux's* Discourse upon universal History. He has shewn the continu'd Chain of Tradition from the Beginning of the World, and has strengthened it by Reflections, which equally discover the Greatness of his Capacity and of his Knowledge.

I shall say nothing of the Events foretold in those antient Books, which requir'd not only a divine Wisdom to foresee them, but an infinite Power to accomplish them. Such was the Conversion of the Gentiles to Christianity, an Event,

vent, which depending on the free Co-operation of Man, demonstrates plainly that the God who reveal'd it had an incommunicable Power over his Heart. But without entring into the Particulars of those Facts, which so evidently prove that the *Jewish* Law was given from above, I come directly to Christianity. In demonstrating the Truth of the latter we establish the Authority of the former, since the Christian Lawgiver has suppos'd it divine.

The Miracles of Jesus Christ were not done in a Corner, in impenetrable Hiding-places, or deep Caverns, but before the Face of a whole People, who were Enemies, and incredulous. They were afterwards publish'd and renew'd  
by



by the Apostles in many different Nations, who were powerfully interested to make the Cheat appear in case they had been counterfeit. Our Lord feeds a Multitude of People with four Loaves. He recovers the Incurable with a single Word. He calls up the Dead from the Grave. He raises himself from Death. Every Thing is notorious and publick, and in which the least Imposture might have been easily discover'd. Here was nothing of delusive Arts to bewitch the Eyes, no Legerdemain, nor subtle Operations of Physical Science; the Facts were all palpable and visible, contrary to the common Laws of Nature. The Simple and the Learned were equally Judges of them, and need-

ed only to open their Eyes to be convinc'd of their Reality.

Moreover, all he does carries the Marks of an infinite Goodness and Power which acts without Ostentation, and which seems to do its Wonders as it were unawares, and out of meer Compassion to Men, either to relieve their bodily Miseries, or to cure their Minds. The great End of his Miracles was to establish the true Worship of the Deity. Jesus Christ himself assures us, that the Design of them is to lead Man in to his own Heart, there to seek for the Evidences of his Doctrine, the End and the Completion of which is Charity.

In

In fine, the principal Eye-witnesses of these miraculous Deeds cannot be suspected. 'Tis possible that Men through Infatuation and Prejudice may suffer all Sorts of Hardships in the Defence of speculative Errors, because they may in good earnest be persuaded that those Errors are Truths; but that Men without any View of Pleasure or Ambition, of temporal or eternal Recompence, should expose themselves to all Kinds of Calamities in this Life, and in the End to the revenging Justice of a God who hates Falshood, to maintain that they have heard with their Ears and seen with their Eyes such Things as never were : This disinterested Love of Evil is absolutely incompatible with human Nature,

and can never be suppos'd, especially in Men who pass their Lives in practising and teaching the most sublime Morality that was ever heard of.

Do we find these three Marks of Truth in the pretended Miracles of the Magicians and Impostors, of *Apollonius* and *Mahomet*? They may out of Ostentation have presented the People with some publick Shew, in order to surprize, amuse, and captivate them; But have they done any Miracle so publickly notorious, seen by such Witnesses, destin'd to establish so pure a Morality?

The Religion of *Moses* consider'd separately, and without Respect to Christianity, might possibly be suspected of politick Views. It might be said, that the Magicians

cians of *Egypt* having imitated a Part of the Wonders wrought by him, he only excell'd them in the Magick Art. But in the Religion of Jesus Christ there is no Pretext for Incredulity, no Shadow of human Policy, no Footstep of worldly Interest. The Miracles of the Lawgiver evince his Mission to be divine, and the Purity of his Law proves that his Miracles were not deluding Enchantments. When a Legislator has a Mind to deceive Men by false Miracles, and to bring them under his Government by abusing their Credulity ; does he invent a Religion which mortifies the whole Man, makes him become an Alien and a Stranger to himself, overthrows the Idolatry of Self-love, obliges us to love

K 5

God

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God



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God more than our selves, and not to love our selves but for his Sake? Jesus Christ requires this Love of us, not only as an Homage due to the Sovereign Perfection, but as a necessary Means to our own Happiness.

Jesus Christ has taught us to look upon this Life, this infinitely short Moment of our Banishment here below, as the Infancy of our Being, and as an obscure Night in which all the Pleasures we meet with are but transient Dreams, and all the Evils we feel but wholesome Bitternesses to make us loath this World, and press forward to our true and native Country. Penetrated with the Sense of our Nothingness, our Inability, and Blindness, he would have us continually

tinually present, and expose our  
selves before the Being of Beings,  
to the End that he may impress  
again his Image upon our Souls,  
and may embellish us with his  
own Beauty, that he may enlighten  
and animate us, give us Well-  
being, as he gives us Being, Reason  
as well as a Life, well order'd  
Love, and true Light, and may  
thereby produce in us all the Vir-  
tues whether human or Divine, till  
at length being made totally con-  
formable to him, he absorb and  
consummate us in his divine U-  
nity.

This is that Worship in Spirit  
and in Truth of which the Gospel  
speaks; the Worship which Man  
finds so agreeable to his natural  
Ideas, when it is once discovered

to him : A Worship nevertheless of which we scarce see any Traces in the most refin'd *Paganism*. It was but late and after that Christianity had enlightened the World, that the *Pagan, Arabian, and Persian* Philosophers borrowed this Language, which they have always spoken imperfectly.

All is uniform in Jesus Christ. His Life is agreeable to his Doctrine. He does not think it enough to give Men the dry Precepts of a sublime Morality. He puts it himself in Practice, and sets us the Example of an accomplished Virtue which neither has nor pretends to any Thing upon Earth. His whole Life is but a Tissue of Sufferings, a perpetual Worship, a profound Annihilation before the  
Supreme

Supreme Being, an unbounded Submission to the divine Will, and an infinite Love of Order. He dies at length as one abandon'd by God and by Men, to shew us, that perfect Virtue, supported by the sole Love of Justice, can continue faithful in the midst of the most terrible Sufferings, without the least Tincture of sensible Delectation, whether heavenly or earthly. Where else can we see, either such a Law-giver or such a Law? We shall never find the true Worship of Love unfolded, purify'd, and practis'd in its Perfection, but by the Followers of Jesus Christ.

The Establishment of such a Religion amongst Men is the greatest of all Miracles. In Spite of all the Power of *Rome*, in Spite  
of

of all the Passions, Interests, and Prejudices of so many Nations, so many Philosophers, so many different Religions, twelve poor Fishermen without Art, without Eloquence, without Power, publish and spread their Doctrine throughout the World. In Spite of a Persecution for three Centuries, which seem'd ready every Moment to extinguish it, in Spite of continued and innumerable Martyrdoms of Persons of all Conditions, Sexes and Countries, the Truth in the End triumphs over Error, pursuant to the Predictions both of the old and new Law. Let any one shew some other Religion which has the same Marks of a divine Protection. A powerful Conqueror may establish by his Arms the Belief

lief of a Religion which flatters the Sensuality of Men ; a wise Legislator may gain himself Attention and Respect by the Usefulness of his Laws ; a Sect in Credit, and supported by the Civil Power, may abuse the Credulity of the People ; all this is possible. But what could victorious, learned, and incredulous Nations see to induce them so readily to submit to Jesus Christ, who promis'd them nothing in this World but Persecutions and Sufferings , who propos'd to them the Belief of Mysteries which shock the Understanding of Man, and the Practice of a Morality which sacrifices all our darling Passions ? In a Word, a Faith and a Worship which drive our Reason and our Self-love to  
I the

the Extremity of Despair? "Is  
" not the Conversion of the  
" World to such a Religion, with-  
" out Miracles, a greater and more  
" incredible one, than even the  
" greatest of those which some  
" refuse to believe<sup>a</sup>.

To this I reply'd,

I am deeply affected, my Lord,  
with what you say: Neverthe-  
less I find my self inclin'd to look  
upon such distant Facts, as what  
may possibly have been exaggerated,  
alter'd, or invented by Priests and  
Politicians, who make use of Re-  
ligion to keep the People in Sub-  
jection.

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<sup>a</sup> St. *Augustin*.



There is no Room to doubt, answer'd he, of the Truth of these Facts. The Books which contain the History of them were receiv'd and translated by great Numbers of People of different Countries as soon as they appear'd ; they have been read in publick Assemblies in almost all Nations from Age to Age : And yet no Body ever tax'd them with being false ; neither *Jews*, nor *Pagans*, nor Hereticks, who were powerfully interested to oppose them, and to make the Imposture appear. The *Jews* indeed alledg'd, that Jesus Christ had perform'd his Miracles by the Power of Magick, but they never rejected them as Forgeries. The *Pagans* could no more disallow these Facts than the *Jews*. *Celsus*, *Porphry*,  
*Julian*

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*Julian* the Apostate, *Plotinus* and the other Philosophers, who from the Beginning attack'd Christianity with all imaginable Subtlety, acknowledg'd the Truth of our Lord's Miracles, the Sanctity of his Life, and the Authentickness of those Books which give us the History of them. Lastly, the numerous and successive Sectaries, which in every Age have disturb'd the Peace of the Church, uncontestably prove, that it would have been impossible to corrupt the sacred Originals without a Discovery of the Imposture. So that if we go back from Age to Age to Jesus Christ himself, we shall see Christians, Hereticks, *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Greeks*, *Romans* and *Barbarians*, all giving Testimony to the same Facts and

and to the same Books. As the Certainty of our Ideas depends upon the Universality and Immutability of their Evidence; so the Certainty of Facts depends upon the Universality and Immutability of the Tradition by which they are confirm'd. It is impossible to make first one whole Nation, and afterwards many different Nations, believe, that they have seen with their Eyes, and heard with their Ears, such Things as never were; that the Memory of these invented Facts should be perpetuated openly, successively and universally in all Ages by different Nations, of opposite Interests, Religion, and Prejudices; that these Nations should conspire with their Enemies to spread abroad a Delusion  
which

which confounds and condemns them, and that nevertheless neither at the Time of the Forgery, nor in the Ages following it should ever be discover'd; this, I say, is not only incredible, but absolutely impossible.

I am charm'd, said I then to him, to see this united Force of the Arguments drawn from the Miracles and moral Doctrine of the Legislator, from the inward Spirit of his Law, and the outward Wonders wrought for the Confirmation of it. The low and mercenary Ideas which are commonly entertain'd of Religion, were, I thought, unworthy of a divine Mission. I suspected the Miracles of the Law-giver while I was unacquainted with

. the

the Beauty of his Law. But why, my Lord, do we find in the Bible such a shocking Contrast of luminous Truths and obscure Doctrines? I should be glad to separate the sublime Ideas, of which you have been speaking, from those Things which the Priests call Myseries.

Wherefore, answer'd he, would you reject so many luminous Truths, which console the Heart, because they are mingled with Shades, which humble the Understanding? Ought not the true Religion to elevate and abase Man, to shew him at once both the Grandeur and the Weakness of his Nature? you have as yet too narrow a Notion of Christianity. It is not only a holy Law to purify

*Practical, thought ch. 3*

rify the Will, it is also a mysterious Wisdom to subdue the Understanding. 'Tis a continual Sacrifice of the whole Man, in Homage to the sovereign Reason. The Practice of Christian Morality is a renouncing of Pleasures for the Love of the supreme Beauty. The Belief of the Gospel Mysteries is a respectful Sacrifice of our Ideas to the eternal Truth. Without this double Offering of our *Thoughts* and *Passions* the Holocaust is imperfect, our Victim is defective. It is by this Means only that the whole Man is as it were annihilated before the *Being of Beings*. Our Business is not to enquire whether it be necessary that God should thus reveal Mysteries to us for the humbling of our Minds. Our

Business

Business is to know whether he has reveal'd any or not. If he has vouchsafed to speak to his Creature, all that love him will obey his Voice. You are to consider the Christian Revelation as a Fact. Since you no longer doubt of the Proofs of this Fact, you are no longer at Liberty to chuse what you will believe and what not. When the Mind is once cur'd of its Presumption, all those Difficulties, whereof you have brought together some Instances, vanish in a Moment. We can then easily believe that there is a Depth in the divine Nature, and in the Conduct of his Providence, which is not to be fathom'd by the short Line of our Reason. The infinite Being must



must of Necessity be incomprehensible to the Creature. On the one Hand we behold a Legislator, whose Law is altogether divine, and who proves his Mission by miraculous Works, of which we cannot doubt, since the Reasons we have to believe them are so strong and cogent. We find on the other Hand diverse Mysteries which shock our Understanding. What shall we do between these two perplexing Extremes of a clear Revelation, and an incomprehensible Obscurity? We have no way left but to sacrifice our Understanding, and this Sacrifice is one Part of the Worship due to the sovereign Being.

Has not God an infinite Variety of Knowledge which we have not?

not? When he discovers any of his Secrets to us by a supernatural way, our Business is not to examine the *Manner* of those Mysteries, but the *Certainty* of their Revelation. They seem to us inconsistent, without being so in Reality; and this seeming Inconsistency arises from the Scantiness and narrow Limits of our Understanding, which cannot reach to see the Connexion of our natural Ideas with these supernatural Truths.

Christianity adds nothing to your pure Deism but the Sacrifice of the Understanding, and the Catholick Faith does but compleat this Sacrifice. Pure Love and humble Faith are the whole of the Catholick Religion. We have, properly speaking, but two Articles

*added by the Pope L. Healt paper of*  
*1. definition of God in some of his p. 17* 1163

of Religion, the *Love* of an invisible God, and *Obedience* to his living Oracle the Church. All the other particular Truths are eminently contain'd in these two simple and universal ones, which are within the Reach of every Capacity. Can any Thing be more worthy of the divine Perfection, or more necessary for the Weakness of Men?

I then said : I have no longer any Difficulty about the incomprehensible Doctrines of Faith, but about certain Opinions which have unawares crept in among the Priests and the People. May not the Christian Law as well as the *Jewish* have been obscur'd by uncertain Traditions? I am persuaded that the Church will never teach

teach any Errors which are dangerous or damnable ; but may she not tolerate certain innocent Errors, as being useful and necessary in the present Weakness of human Nature? Such, for Example, is the Notion of eternal Punishments. Nothing would be more dangerous than to free the Minds of Men from this salutary Fear. But there is nothing in the natural Ideas we have of the Deity, nor even in the holy Scripture to hinder us from believing, that sooner or later all Beings will return to *Order*. This was the Solution which *Origen* hit upon to justify all the Steps of Providence. This furnishes an Answer to all the Objections which *Celsus*, Mr. *Baile*, and all other Unbelievers, whether ancient or

L 2                      modern,

modern, have form'd against the Christian System. Leave me but this single Idea; I give you up all the rest.

No, no, said he, I will leave you no Refuge to escape the Sacrifice of your Understanding. Should we suppose, that the Church might tolerate some innocent Mistakes, yet since she will never teach any dangerous Error, which can justify a Rebellion, and the throwing off our Dependance, why do you delay to submit, and to lose in the Incomprehensibility of God all those vain Speculations, which might limit and set Bounds to your Obedience? This Life is but a dark Night, in which we are not allow'd to reason upon the Secrets of  
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of the divine Nature, or the impenetrable Designs of his Providence. One Moment more, and all will be unveil'd. God will justify his Conduct. We shall see that his Wisdom, Justice and Goodness are always concordant and inseparable. 'Tis our Pride, and our Impatience which make us unwilling to wait for this unravelling. Instead of using that Ray of Light which is left us, as a Guide to lead us out of our Darkness, we lose it in a Labyrinth of Disputes, Errors, chimerical Systems, and particular Sects, which not only disturb the present Peace of human Society, but indispose us for the true Life of all intelligent Natures, who have no Understanding or Will of their own, but are

*edit 1774  
Catholism  
the Communion  
a Protestant  
to the Roman  
Church p.*

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enlightned by the same universal Reason<sup>t</sup>, and are moved and animated by the same sovereign Love. Hitherto you have sought to possess Truth. Truth must now captivate and possess you, and strip you of all the false Riches of your Understanding. Before we can be perfect Christians, we must be disappropriated of every Thing, even of our Ideas themselves. No Religion but the Catholick teaches this evangelical Poverty. Impose then Silence upon your Imagination, and your Reason. Say continually to God; Instruct me by the Heart and not by the Understanding: Make me believe as the Saints have believ'd: Make me love as the Saints have lov'd. By this Means you will be secur'd from

*in all his moral*



from all Fanaticism, and from all Incredulity.

It was thus that *Monsieur de Cambray* made me see, that a sober thinking Deist must of Necessity become Christian, and that a Christian cannot reason philosophically without becoming Catholic.

He discours'd with the same Strength of Reason upon the Proofs of natural Religion, as upon those of reveal'd. We have two Treatises upon that Head printed since his Death, *The Being of God*, and his *Letters upon Religion*, some of which were written to the Duke of *Orleans*, who always honour'd this Prelate with an unvaried Friendship.

Men of a dry and abstracted Way of thinking are not sufficiently sensible of the Value of these two Pieces. *Monsieur de Cambray* knew, that the Distemper of the greatest Part of those who doubt, is not in their Understanding, but in their Will. He accompanies all his Arguments with such Reflections as are proper to touch, and engage the Heart. He tempers the Dryness of metaphysical Reasonings with an Uction, that softens and bends the Will, at the same Time that it enlightens the Understanding.

All the Principles of the most sublime Philosophy are to be found in the two Treatises above-mentioned. This I shall make appear by giving the Analysis of his  
Proofs

Proofs of *the Being of a God,*  
*the Liberty of Man, the Necessity*  
*of a divine Worship, and the Im-*  
*mortality of the Soul.*

I shall make use, as far as I am  
able, of his own Words, and shall  
only perfect what he has written,  
by what I have had from his  
Mouth. 'Tis no improper Digres-  
sion to relate his Way of think-  
ing, while I am writing the Hi-  
story of his Life.

There must of Necessi- *The Being of*  
ty be something eternal, *God.*

Nothing could not produce the  
Things which are. That *Being*  
*which exists of it self* is for no  
other Reason *eternal*, but because  
it carries within it self the Necess-  
sity of its Existence. All finite Be-

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ings may either be or not be. Every supposed infinite, which is not supremely infinite, or infinite in all Respects, has nothing in it self to make it exist preferably to an infinite of a superior Degree ; so that its Existence is not necessary. The self-existent Being, the infinite Being, the absolute Infinite, are therefore synonymous Terms. It is for this Reason that God defines himself, *He that is.*

Multiplicity is poor in its seeming Abundance. The absolute Infinite is supremely *One*, and supremely *All*. He is all *Being*, and not all *Beings*. He exists, knows himself, and loves himself always alike. He contains all that is real in all Beings by an indivisible

sible Simplicity, and not a Composition of Parts. He knows all that is knowable in knowing himself. He loves all that is lovely in loving himself. He can do all that is possible by the simple Act of his Will. We do not see his Essence, but we have here a clear Idea of his essential Properties. It is, I confess, but an infinitely small Perception of the infinitely great Being, but it is a very real one, and such as distinguishes him from all other Beings, whether finite or infinite, in one Respect only.

Since the *absolute Infinite* is the only Being which exists of itself; Since finite Beings cannot be small Parts taken off from his indivisible Substance; it necessari-



ly follows, that he has a real Power of making that to be which was not before. We have no Idea of this creating Power, but such a Power there must be in God, or the Existence of finite Beings would be impossible.

The Action by which God has created all Things is never discontinued. 'Tis plain, that he every Moment gives Being, because he can every Moment take it away. Now he cannot take it away but by ceasing to give it, or by giving Nothing: But Nothing cannot be communicated. The Preservation therefore of the Creatures is a perpetual Gift, that is to say, a continued Creation. A Being which holds its Existence in Dependance, cannot but be dependant in its

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Operations. The Creatures act, as they exist. Their Activity as well as their Being is every Moment communicated to them. What a wide Field of Truth is here open'd to the Mind?

It is God alone who creates all, and he is the sole Agent in his Work. It is he, who being every where present, gives Form and Motion to the Corporeal World, Light and Love to the Intellectual. It is he who makes the one intelligible, and the other intelligent. <sup>a</sup> It is by him alone that they

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<sup>a</sup> N. B. This System has no Affinity with that, which holds, that God is not only the Cause of all our Sensations, but likewise their immediate Object. To speak in the odd fantastick Language of those Philosophers, when  
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they correspond to each other, pursuant to certain general Laws, which he has establish'd for the Preservation of Order and Union in his Works.

Second *Causes* are but the *mere* Occasions of his Action, which we don't perceive because of its Delicacy, and which we falsely at-

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we feel Pain, it is the *ideal Finger* which is prick'd by an *intelligible Pin*, both of which are portions of the intelligible Extension, or of the divine Substance, as representative of Matter. The new Spinosists have hence taken Occasion to say, that according to the new Philosophy, there is but one Being, who reunites in his Substance as Attributes both intelligible and intelligent Extension. And thus it is that certain subtil Genius's, subtilis'd even to Levity, have carried the Philosophy of *Malebranche* to Impiety contrary to the Intention of the Author.

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tribute to the Creatures and to our selves, thereby usurping the Rights of the Divinity. There is no Shadow of real Power in finite Beings, but that of our Liberty, by which we are enabled to consent, or not to consent, to the Divine Action, which illuminates, excites, and moves us.

The Impulse which is given us by God towards Good in general, is the Ground and *Idea of Liberty.* Essence of the Will, and the Spring of all our Loves. But this Impulse never carries us irresistibly towards any particular Good. We can always stop to examine whether the Good that presents it self be real or imaginary, whether according to Order, or contrary to it, whether

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ther good in it self, or *only* pleasing to us. We can by Consequence give way to the Action of God upon us either from virtuous or sensual, rational or pleasurable Considerations, from a reverential Regard to his adorable Perfections, or from the Relish of our agreeable Sensations. Here we see the twofold Spring, by which our Liberty is explain'd.

This Power of consenting to the divine Action does not suppose an infinite Strength in the Creature. It produces neither the Object, nor the Action of the Object, nor the Motion towards the Object. Our Action is of it self always barren. The Action of God is what alone produces all our luminous and beatifying Perceptions.

ceptions. It is the one only Source of all the *Truths*, and of all the *Pleasures* by which we are moved. This Activity (or this Power of chusing), like our Being, is a continued Gift of God. We have a Being different from his, and in like Manner we have an Activity distinct from his. But as our Being cannot exist independently of his, so neither can our Action produce any Thing without his. His Action does all in all according to certain Laws which he has establish'd.

The universal Rule by which God communicates himself to free Beings, is to do it more or less, as they more or less give Way to his Action. When the Creature sins, it is not necessary to suppose  
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it endow'd with a Strength equal to the Creator's, whereby it may put a Stop to the Action of God; it is God himself who stops. He ceases to act, because the Terms or Condition upon which he acts is wanting.

The Sight of the sovereign Good, display'd without Covering or Veil, would invincibly determine every finite Intelligence, to cleave and adhere to it. But this the Creatures might do, either to pay Homage to its infinite Perfection, or in Order only to the Enjoyment of Happiness. To separate these two Sorts of Love is to commit a Sacrilege. No Method was more worthy of the divine Wisdom for the confirming us eternally in the pure Love of  
Order,



Order, than to raise us to it by a State of Trial, wherein we have continual Occasions of sacrificing our pleasurable Sensations to the pure Idea of his infinite Perfection. The only Reason then why he has made us free, is that we might be capable of *Pure Love*.

This is the Worship which God exacts from his Creature, and the eternal Condition of our Union with him. Order requires that we would love his infinite Perfection more than our finite Perfection. Every Creature is but a bounded, communicated and dependent Good : Whereas the first Being is properly the *only* Good, the Source of all other Good, the unbounded and independent

*The Worship  
of the Supreme Being.*

pendent Good. Our Love of this Good ought likewise to be a peculiar Kind of Love, the Source of all our Loves, a Love without Bounds, and independent of all other Love. On the contrary, the Love of our selves ought to be a Love deriv'd from this primitive Love, a Rivulet from this Source, a bounded Love, a Love proportioned to the small Portion of Good which is fallen to our Lot. This is that true Worship from which God cannot dispense any intelligent Creature, and without which he cannot unite himself to it. God is *All*, and we are but a meer Nothing, cloath'd with a small Particle of borrow'd Being. That *Self* which we love so dearly is, so to speak, but a little Part which  
seeks

seeks to be the *All*, and falsely challenges divine Honours. The Idol must be thrown down, that it may be reduc'd to its own little Place. When this Foundation is once laid, the whole Edifice will rise as it were of it self. We shall find the whole of Religion unfolded in our Heart.

The Existence of God, the Liberty of Man, and the true Nature of religious Worship being once establish'd, the Immortality of the Soul necessarily follows from these three Principles.

We are capable of knowing and of loving to Infinity. God could have no other End in creating a Being with so vast a Capacity but to make himself known to it as

*The Immortality of the Soul.*

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the sovereign Truth, and to make himself lov'd by it as the universal Goodness. Man does not in this Life accomplish this Design of his Maker. All his Employments and Occupations here below are unworthy of so noble a Capacity. Now it is impossible that God should create Beings to know and to love him to Infinity, without ever fulfilling the Design of their Creation, unless they render themselves incapable of it by their own Fault.

This Inconsistency would be infinitely unworthy the Wisdom and Goodness of God who cannot destroy a Being that loves him, and which he has created for no other End but to love him. Supposing then, that the Soul were material

material and mortal by its Nature, it might become immortal by Love.

It was thus that *Monsieur de Cambray* brought Atheists to be Deists, Deists to be Christians, and Christians to be Catholicks, by a well connected Chain of Ideas and Reasonings which abounded with Light, and with noble Sentiments. All his Arguments center'd in the Love of Order, and all flow'd from thence. This great and noble Idea gave Strength, Beauty, Elevation and Unity to all his Principles. I do not pretend here to demonstrate the Truth of this System; but I intreat the Incredulous to shew me another, all the Parts of which are so closely knit together, a System so fruitful in luminous  
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Consequences, and so satisfactory to the Mind and Heart.

I have said enough of *Monsieur de Cambray* as a Philosopher and as a Bishop; I should now say something of him as an Academicist. He was chosen a Member of the *French Academy* in the Year 1693, while he was Preceptor to the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Discourse he pronounc'd upon that Occasion is a Model in that Kind. His *Telemachus*, admir'd by all Nations, and translated into almost all the Languages of *Europe*, his *Dialogues upon Eloquence*, his *Letter to the French Academy*, and his *Dialogues of the Dead*, discover equally the Beauty of his Genius and the Nobleness of his Sentiments.

His

His Notions of Eloquence are not less admirable than his Doctrine upon Love. The same Unity of Principles is to be seen throughout both. His Aim in Eloquence, as well as in Reasoning, is to lead Men back to pure Nature, to make them seek the *sublime* in what is *simple*, to make Pleasure subservient to Virtue, and things agreeable to that which is honourable and praise-worthy.

He reduces therefore all the Rules of true Eloquence to *painting*, *proving*, and *moving the Passions*. The only Embellishments with which a true Orator adorns his Discourse are bright Ideas, and noble Sentiments, which he cloaths with clear and natural Expressions. He thinks, he feels

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what he thinks, and his Words follow of themselves.

To paint well in speaking, *Monsieur de Cambray* would have us imitate the *Raphaels* and the *Caraches*, who follow'd pure Nature in every Thing, without seeking to make their Imagination admir'd, by sporting with the Pencil. He would have his Orator converse with all the Beings that surround him, even the most inanimate. He would have him animate them, make them think, feel, and love. He must speak to them, and they must answer him, but never say any Thing but what simple Nature would say, if it spake in them. He does not reject bold Figures, lively Images, nor lovely Descriptions; but he would have all

all the Beauties of a Discourse be like the Beauties of a Building, where the necessary Parts are turned into Ornaments.

In order to prove, he would have his Orator be a correct and accurate Genius, a thorough Philosopher, who never thinks any Thing fine but what is true, who knows how to place the great Principles in their proper Point to be seen, that from this Point, as from the Center, they may throw a Light upon the whole Discourse. He would have every Truth be in its own Place, all preparing the Way for, leading and supporting one another successively, and that the whole should make but one finish'd Piece.

In order to move the Passions *Monsieur de Cambray* holds it necessary to join noble Sentiments with clear Ideas. One must be acquainted with the Heart of Man, know all the Springs by which it is mov'd, and be deeply affected ourselves with what we would press upon others, to the End that the Heart may speak to the Heart, while the Understanding speaks to the Understanding. The true O-rator, according to *Monsieur de Cambray*, must be so animated, ravish'd and transported with the Love of Truth and Virtue, as to forget himself, and to disappear, that he may present nothing else to the Mind of his Hearer.

By this Idea of true Eloquence he teaches us to know the false  
Instead

Instead of lively Descriptions, and natural Images, it is wholly taken up with studied Antitheses, rounded Periods, and glittering Ornaments. It seeks only to tickle the Ear with harmonious Sounds, to polish, adorn, and purify its Language. It is not sensible that a florid Style, how soft and agreeable soever, can never rise above a Mediocrity.

Moreover, the false Eloquence, according to him, instead of bright Truths, seeks nothing but witty Thoughts, and delicate Conceits. He describes it in the following Manner.

It never goes back to first Principles. It cannot be satisfied with plain Reason. It sprinkles too much Salt upon every Thing. It

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knows not that too much Delicacy degenerates into Subtility, that a nice Taste is averse to all Excess, even of Wit it self; that it argues a want of Wit to be desirous of shewing too much, and that the best Proof of Plenty, is the knowing when to retrench. On the contrary, the true sublime is so simple, so natural and familiar, that it seems the most obvious Thing in the World, and every one is apt to imagine, that he should have hit upon it without any Effort of Thought; nevertheless few are so happy, because none but those of superior Genius can simplify themselves enough to follow pure Nature in every Thing.

Lastly,

Lastly, the false Eloquence substitutes speculative Notions, in the Place of noble and affecting Sentiments ; dry and elaborate Sentences, instead of those lively and natural Motions of a Soul smitten with the Love of Truth and Virtue. He who thinks Self-love the Source of all Virtue, will never say any Thing that is great or noble. He will always be shut up within himself, a Sphere too narrow for a bold, noble and sublime Flight.

*Monsieur de Cambray* practis'd his own Precepts. He paints, he proves, he moves the Passions. He is accus'd of stepping sometimes too hastily from the first to the last. 'Tis true that he does not always give himself the Time

to dissect and anatomize the Truth, till it becomes as it were a dry Skeleton in his Hands. He ascends to first Principles, thence descends to his Consequences, and displays at one Stroke the whole Chain of Reasoning; then converts all to moving and affecting Sentiments, and ever leads the Hearer into his own Heart.

*Monsieur de Cambray* had study'd the Antients of all Kinds, Poets, Orators, and Philosophers. He was well acquainted with their Faults, and with their Beauties. He admir'd the noble Sentiments, and lively Imaginations of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He allow'd that they knew not, like the Moderns, that Order in Reasoning, which begins by simple Principles,  
goes



goes on by Degrees to more complex Ideas, and which follows the Truth through all its Relations by a geometrical Chain of Consequences. They made their Way to Truth by leaping and bounding, and often reach'd the Sublime without knowing the intermediate Truths which are the Steps to it. 'Tis thus that they have spoken of the Love of *Truth* and *Virtue* for their own Sakes, in a much nobler Manner than our Moderns.

*Monsieur de Fenelon*, in the latter Years of his Life, had an Opportunity of shewing in an eminent Manner all the Virtues of a good Common-wealth's Man, his Love for his Country and for Strangers.

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The Year 1709. was a Year of extraordinary Scarcity. The Army in *Flanders* was unprovided with Magazines. *Monsieur de Cambray* gave all the Country an Example of voluntarily furnishing Corn for the Subsistence of the Troops.

The War drawing near to *Cambray* in the following Years, he became the Admiration of the Army by his Charity for the Sick and Wounded, and by the noble Hospitality of his House, which was open to all the Officers.

After the Battle of *Malplaquet* he filled not only his Palace with wounded Officers, but his Seminary too, which was then empty by the Absence of the young Ecclesiasticks. He made every thing be provided for them, that was  
necessary

necessary for their Cure and their Nourishment. Nay, his Charity went so far as to hire Houses for their Reception when there was not sufficient Room in his own. Most People would have thought such an Expence excessive, at a Time when his Revenues were very much lessen'd by the Neighbourhood of the Army; but the Necessities of the Unfortunate were the only Measure of his Liberality.

It was not to Persons of Distinction only that his House was open: It was likewise a Place of Refuge for the poorest People. The sudden Motions of the Armies, and the Disorders that unavoidably attended them, oblig'd sometimes whole Villages to seek

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that Safety within the Town which was not to be found in the open Country. The Archiepiscopal Palace was the Place of Retreat for as many of the Unfortunate as could be lodg'd in it. Neither the painful Sight of their wretched Condition, nor their infectious Distempers could abate the Zeal of this Prelate. He walk'd up and down amongst them like a good Father, and testified by his Sighs how much his Heart was mov'd with Compassion. His Presence, and his Words seem'd to alleviate their Miseries.

The Veneration in which he was held was not confin'd to the *French* Army alone. He was no less respected by the Enemy. The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince Eugene,

gene, and the Duke of *Ormond* prevented him with all Sorts of Civilities. They sent Detachments to guard his Meadows and his Corn. They caus'd his Grain to be transported and convoy'd to *Cambray*, lest it should be seiz'd and carried off by their own Foragers. When any Party of the Enemy had learnt that he was to take a Journey within his Diocese, they sent him word that he had no need of a *French* Convoy, that they would escort him themselves. Even the *Hussars* of the *Imperial* Troops did not fail to do him this Service: Such a commanding Power has true Virtue over all Hearts. He was no where ill treated and calumniated but in his own Country. All the other Na-  
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tions of *Europe* held him in equal Veneration. He on the other Hand lov'd and made much of Strangers. He receiv'd them with a singular Cordiality and Distinction, of whatever Religion they happen'd to be. He took a Pleasure in discoursing with them of the Manners, Laws, Government, and great Men of their Country. He never made them feel any Want they might have of that Delicacy of good Breeding, for which the *French* are so remarkable. On the contrary he us'd often to say, Politeness is common to all Nations. *The Ways of expressing it are different, but indifferent in their Nature.*

No Man ever lov'd his Country better than he: But he could

not bear to have the Interest of it pursued by violating the Laws of Humanity, nor to have it extolled by lessening the Merit of other Nations. “ I love my Family, said he, “ better than my self ; “ I love my Country better than “ my Family ; but I love Man- “ kind better than my Country.

For the last Years of the War he kept open Table for all Officers as well Foreigners as *French*, who were drawn to *Cambray*, by the Charms of his Conversation. The Duties of Hospitality, and performing the Honours of his House, became a Work of Labour to him, by reason of the great Number of Persons who came to see him, and of the Multiplicity of his other  
Em-



Employments. However, he went through all with perfect Easiness, Politeness and Tranquillity.

After the Death of the Dauphin of *France*, (the King's Son) All the *French* Noblemen, who pass'd through *Cambray*, to go to the Army, redoubled their Civilities to the Archbishop. Their Esteem of his personal Qualities was increas'd by the Desire they had to please the Duke of *Burgundy*, with whose Thoughts and Dispositions in relation to him they were well acquainted. *Monsieur de Fenelon* continued still in the same Simplicity and Freedom of Mind. His Soul was raised too high, above all the Objects of human Ambition, to be dazzled with them. He made no other use  
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of the Esteem Men expressed for him, but to do them good. His Piety had something in it so lovely and so noble at the same Time, that it drew the Respect of the most Incredulous, and even seem'd to suspend their Doubts. He talk'd, he sported, he amus'd them from a Spirit of Charity, seasoning all his Discourse with short and lively Reflections, that inspir'd the Love of Virtue. Thus he put himself into all Shapes without ever losing his essential Form.

Nothing is more worthy of Admiration than the Facility with which he suffer'd himself to be interrupted in any Business he was about, that he might communicate himself to all, and give himself up entirely to the Discharge of those

those Duties, which daily, and even hourly occur'd, as it were, by Surprize and unexpectedly, for the Exercise of his Patience and Meekness. An ordinary Virtue is disconcerted, fretted, and discourag'd when it cannot pursue its Rules and its Methods. *Monsieur de Cambray's* Virtue was noble, free, regular in all its Steps, yet without being a Slave to Times or Places. It was thus that one Day being diverted from a Work he had a Mind to finish, to pay the necessary Civilities to one of his Friends, who was leaving *Cambray*, and his Friend having excus'd the Interruption, the Archbishop reply'd, " Be in no Concern, " you do me more good by interrupting me, than I should " have

“ have gain’d by pursuing what I  
“ was about.

Tho’ he was naturally hasty and easily mov’d, yet in the midst of all his Crosses and Misfortunes, especially at the Time of his Dispute with the three Bishops, being totally resign’d to God, and thoughtless of what regarded himself, he continued the same Serenity, Frankness, Equanimity, and was as affable, as present to himself, and as attentive to others, as if he had had no Cause of Uneasiness.

Politeness, which is oftentimes but an empty Shew, by which we seek to make our selves the Idols of other Men, and to make them serviceable to our Interests, was in  
him

him the Effect of a Self-forgetfulness, and of a Desire to give himself wholly to others, that he might make them good. It was a Sacrifice of his own Will to prevent, pacify and moderate their Passions, a kind of Worship which he paid to the Images of God. And thus have I seen him transform the most common Offices of Humanity into divine Virtues.

He had the Art of putting himself upon a Level with the Understandings of all those he convers'd with, so as never to have more Wit than they. Nay he would, as it were, give Wit to others, by seasonably concealing his own to make theirs appear, and to produce the Talents that were in them. I have seen him in the  
Space

Space of one Day ascend and descend to all Ranks of Men, converse with the Great, and speak their Language, ever maintaining the Episcopal Dignity; afterwards discourse with the Simple and the Little, like a good Father instructing his Children. This sudden Step from one Extreme to the other, was without Affectation or Effort, but as of one who by the Extensiveness of his Genius reaches to all the most opposite Distances.

This Sublimity of Genius was accompanied with a Simplicity of Heart much superior to all his Talents. There are few Men who can bear a near Inspection. There is a certain Point of View from whence they must be look'd at.

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At

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At a great Distance their good Qualities disappear; at a near View their Imperfections magnify. 'Tis Simplicity alone which makes a Man appear always alike, and which transforms even his Weaknesses into Virtues. The Mixture of perfect and imperfect, which we behold in a Soul quite naked, and which has no Turnings, nor Windings, nor Reserve, is a Contrast which heightens its Beauty, and is far beyond a Light without Shades. *Monsieur de Cambray* was Master of this Simplicity in an eminent Degree. In defining it he gives us his own Picture without being aware of it. His Words are these.

*Sincerity. Simplicity*

“ Sim-

“ Simplicity is the Rectitude of  
“ a Soul which suppresses all use-  
“ less Reflections upon it self and  
“ its Actions. It differs from Sin-  
“ cerity, but is more excellent. We  
“ see many Persons, who are sin-  
“ cere without being simple. They  
“ never say any Thing but what  
“ they think true. They desire  
“ not to pass but for what they  
“ are. But they are continually  
“ in fear of being taken for what  
“ they are not. They are ever at  
“ the Glass, to study and adjust  
“ themselves, to range their Virtues  
“ in due Order and Symmetry, to  
“ measure and regulate all their  
“ Thoughts and Words, lest they  
“ should do too much or too lit-  
“ tle. They are never easy with  
“ others, and others are always  
“ uneasy

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“ Thoughts and Words, lest they  
“ should do too much or too lit-  
“ tle. They are never easy with  
“ others, and others are always  
“ uneasy

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“ uneasy with them. There is  
 “ nothing easy, frank, or natural  
 “ about them.

*vid: is his former  
 on humility.  
 93 40-50-60*

23

“ A Person full of Imperfec-  
 “ tions, but who does not seek to  
 “ hide them, nor to dazzle the Eye  
 “ with false Appearances, who  
 “ has no Affectation of Parts, or  
 “ Virtues, or graceful Behaviour  
 “ who seems to have his Thoughts  
 “ no more upon himself than upon  
 “ others, who seems to have for-  
 “ gotten that *Self* of which we  
 “ are so jealous, and to be as if  
 “ were a Stranger, with Regard  
 “ to himself; such a Person is in-  
 “ finitely agreeable, notwithstand-  
 “ ing all his Faults. On the con-  
 “ trary, a Man of good Parts, ac-  
 “ quir'd Virtues and exterior Ac-  
 “ complishments, if he be too pro-

“ cise

“ cise, if he seem always thinking  
“ on himself, and affects to excel  
“ in all he says or does, is a dis-  
“ gustful, tiresom Person, whom  
“ no Body can bear. God and  
“ Man in this Respect have the  
“ same Taste.

How agreeable and charming  
soever *Monsieur de Cambray's* Con-  
versation was in publick, it was in-  
finitely more so in private with his  
Friends. Divine Love was in him  
an inexhaustible Source of the  
purest, the tenderest, the most ge-  
nerous Friendship. I cannot bet-  
ter describe the Sentiments of his  
Heart, than by a Letter he wrote  
to his Pupil the Duke of *Bur-*  
*gundy.*

N

“ Divine



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“ **D**ivine Friendship, says he  
 “ to this Prince, “ is not  
 “ always accompanied with a sen-  
 “ sible Fondness, but it is hearty,  
 “ intimate, faithful, constant, and  
 “ effectual. It has too its Tender-  
 “ nesses, and its Transports. A  
 “ Soul devoted to God would  
 “ be no longer liable to the Dri-  
 “ ness and Reservedness which the  
 “ false Delicacies, and humour-  
 “ som Inequalities of Self-love are  
 “ subject to. Love would make  
 “ us bear every Thing, suffer eve-  
 “ ry Thing, hope every Thing for  
 “ our Friend. It would surmount  
 “ all Uneasinesses. From the  
 “ Center of the Heart it would  
 “ shed it self abroad upon the  
 “ Senses. It would melt with  
 “ Compassion for the Misfor-  
 tunes

“ tunes of others, not considering  
“ its own as any Thing. It would  
“ console, it would wait, it would  
“ suit it self to every Circum-  
“ stance; become little with the  
“ little, great with the great; weep  
“ with those that weep, rejoyce  
“ with those that rejoyce. It  
“ would become all Things to  
“ all Men, not by a constrain’d  
“ outside Appearance, and a dry  
“ ceremonious Complaisance, but  
“ from the Abundance of the  
“ Heart, in which divine Love  
“ would be a living Source to fur-  
“ nish it with all the Sentiments  
“ and Dispositions of the most af-  
“ fectionate and substantial Kind-  
“ ness. Nothing is so dry, so  
“ hard, so cold, so close, as a  
“ Heart, which loves only it self.

“ Nothing is so tender, so open,  
 “ so sensible, so meek, so lovely  
 “ and so loving as a Heart, which  
 “ is possess’d and animated by di-  
 “ vine Love.

*Monsieur de Cambray* us’d an in-  
 finite Delicacy in his Conduct and  
 Way of Carriage with his Friends.  
 He saw their Faults, and bore  
 with them, with great Mildness  
 and Sweetness of Temper. He  
 waited the proper Moment of  
 speaking, laid hold of it when  
 it came, and knew how to season  
 his Advice in such a Manner as  
 that the most unpleasing Truths  
 never gave Offence.

“ It is oftentimes, said he, our  
 “ own Imperfection, which makes  
 “ us

“ us reprove the Imperfections of  
“ others. 'Tis a sharp-sighted, pe-  
“ netrating Self-love, which ne-  
“ ver pardons the Self-love of ano-  
“ ther. The Passions of other Men  
“ seem infinitely ridiculous, and in-  
“ supportable to him who is giv-  
“ en up to his own. Divine  
“ Charity makes great Allowances  
“ for the Weaknesses of others,  
“ bears with them, and treats  
“ them with Gentleness and Con-  
“ descension. It is never over-  
“ hasty in its proceeding. The  
“ less we have of Self-love, the  
“ more easily we accommodate our  
“ selves to the Imperfections of  
“ others, in order to cure them  
“ patiently. We never make an  
“ Incision without putting a great  
“ deal of Balm upon the Wound.

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“ We don't venture upon an Ope-  
“ ration, but when Nature her  
“ self discovers, that she prepares  
“ for it. We shall wait whole  
“ Years for a favourable Oppor-  
“ tunity to give one single Piece  
“ of wholsom Advice.

Nothing can be finer, than what  
he makes *Socrates* say, upon this  
Head, to *Timon* the Man-hater,  
in his Dialogues of the Dead.

“ A Man of imperfect Virtue  
“ sinks under the Weight of other  
“ Men's Imperfections. Such a  
“ one still loves himself too much  
“ to bear with what is contrary to  
“ his own Taste, and to his own  
“ Maxims. Self-love will no more  
“ endure to be contradicted by  
“ Vice

“ Vice than by Virtue. Imper-  
“ fect Virtue is captious, censo-  
“ rious, sour, severe, and impla-  
“ cable. Perfect Virtue is always  
“ uniform, meek, affable, and  
“ compassionate. It takes every  
“ Burthen upon its self, and thinks  
“ of nothing but doing good. It  
“ is this Principle of Disinterested-  
“ ness with regard to our selves,  
“ and of Compassion for others,  
“ which is the true Bond of So-  
“ ciety.

This sweet and mild Disposition  
did not however hinder *Monsieur*  
*de Cambray* from speaking the  
Truth to such of his Friends, who  
were able to bear it. His firm  
Behaviour in this respect, and his  
thorough Acquaintance with the

Heart of Man, will be equally seen  
by the following Letter

{ “**T**HE main and predominant  
“Disposition of your Heart,  
“and which you have nourish’d e-  
“ver since your Childhood, is an  
“unbridled Self-love, disguis’d un-  
“der the Appearance of an he-  
“roick Delicacy and Generosity.  
“You are desirous entirely to for-  
“get your self, that you may de-  
“vote all your Attention to o-  
“thers; but this Forgetfulness  
“tends to make you your own  
“Idol, and the Idol of all those  
“for whose sake you seem to for-  
“get your self. Self-forgetfulness  
“is something so great and noble,  
“that ‘even Self-love desires to  
“imitate it, and thinks no Glory  
“com-



“ comparable to that of not seek-  
“ ing any. In reality, what can  
“ be more sweetly flattering to a  
“ discerning and delicate Self-love;  
“ than to see it self so highly  
“ applauded, as to have the Repu-  
“ tation of not being Self-love.

As *Monsieur de Cambray* us'd  
this Frankness in speaking to his  
Friends, so he was desirous they  
should use the same with him.  
See the Manner in which he writes  
to them.

“ **I** Request you, more than ever,  
“ not to spare me in telling  
“ me my Faults. Tho' you should  
“ think you discover a Fault in me,  
“ which perhaps I have not, the  
“ Misfortune will not be great.

N 5

“ If

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“ If your Intimations and Advice  
 “ offend me, I shall thereby see  
 “ that you have reach’d the Quick.  
 “ And thus you will still do me a  
 “ great Benefit by inuring me to  
 “ Reproof, and to a Christian  
 “ Lowliness of Spirit. The higher  
 “ I am rais’d by my Character the  
 “ more I ought to be humbled.  
 “ I have need of this Simplicity,  
 “ and I hope, that far from weak-  
 “ ning our Union, it will be a  
 “ Means to strengthen it.

Neither Absence nor Distance  
 could lessen *Monsieur de Cambray’s*  
 Friendship. During the whole  
 Time of his Exile, he scarce ever  
 had a Sight of any of his old  
 Friends. But he realiz’d their Pre-  
 sence by the tender Affection of  
 a Heart,

a Heart, which unites it self to what it loves in the divine Imensity.

“ Let us all dwell, says he in a Letter to his Friends, “ in our  
“ only Center, where we continually meet, and are all but one  
“ and the same Thing. We are  
“ very near, tho’ we see not one  
“ another ; whereas People who  
“ hourly see each other, and are  
“ in the same Chamber, yet live  
“ at a great Distance. God reunites all, and brings together  
“ the remotest Points of Distance  
“ with regard to those Hearts that  
“ are united in him. O ! what  
“ an ugly Thing it is to be *two*,  
“ *three*, *four*. We should be but  
“ *one*. I am for nothing but U-  
N 6 “ nity.

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“ nity. All counting beyond that  
“ proceeds from Division. Fie up-  
“ on it! *Friends*; this speaks a  
“ Plurality; they are diverse, and  
“ consequently there is little Love  
“ betwixt them. *Self*, or what one  
“ calls *I*, loves it self too much  
“ to be able to love *him* and *her*.  
“ Let us then be all united, by  
“ not being any thing, but in our  
“ common Center, where all is  
“ *One* without Distinction. Let  
“ this be the Place of our Ren-  
“ dezvous, and our common Dwel-  
“ ling. It is in this indivisi-  
“ ble Point that *China* and *Ca-*  
“ *nada* touch each other. The  
“ being depriv'd of seeing you does  
“ not fail to affect me very sen-  
“ sibly: But I must bear it peace-  
“ ably so long as God thinks fit,  
“ and

*Mons. de FENELON.* 301

“ and even to Death if it be his  
“ Pleasure.

He held every thing in common with his Friends, and was but one Heart, and one Mind with them. O! what a beautiful  
“ Spectacle would it be, said he frequently, “ to see all Sorts of  
“ Goods in common, no Body  
“ looking upon his Knowledge  
“ and his Virtues, his Joys and his  
“ Riches as his peculiar Property. ’Tis thus that the Saints in  
“ Heaven possess every Thing in  
“ God, without having any thing  
“ of their own. ’Tis the Flux  
“ and Reflux of an infinite Ocean  
“ of Good, common to all, which  
“ satiates their Desires, and compleats their Happiness. Every  
“ one

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“ one receives according to his Ca-  
 “ pacity, and returns back all.  
 “ God is himself alone all things  
 “ in all, and no one has any thing  
 “ that is particularly his own. They  
 “ are stript of all Property in this  
 “ Possession of the infinite Good.  
 “ They are perfectly happy, by be-  
 “ ing perfectly poor. If this Po-  
 “ verty of Spirit prevail'd among  
 “ Friends here below, and they  
 “ had all their temporal and spi-  
 “ ritual good things in common,  
 “ we should hear no more those  
 “ cold Words of *mine* and *thine*.  
 “ We should be all at the same time  
 “ both poor and rich in *Unity*.

No Body was more perfectly re-  
 sign'd to' the divine Will than *Mon-*  
*sieur de Cambray*, yet no Body  
 was

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was more sensibly touch'd with the Loss of his Friends. There is a savage kind of Virtue which takes a Pride in a stoical Insensibility of Temper: True Virtue regulates the Passions without extinguishing them, and can reconcile the Sentiments of Humanity with those of Religion, so that the one shall not destroy the other.

*Monsieur de Cambray* us'd to weep bitterly for the Death of his Friends, without either hiding his Tears, or endeavouring to withhold them by the Strength of Philosophy. What a lovely Sight was it, to see this great Man become a Child by the Tenderness of Friendship! Yet in the midst of his Grief, he still preserv'd his Tranquillity, and comforted those who



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who mourn'd like himself for the  
Death of a virtuous Friend. See  
the Manner in which he us'd to  
express himself upon these Occa-  
sions.

“ Let us unite our selves in  
“ Heart to him, whom we re-  
“ gret. Tho' become invisible,  
“ he is not far from us. He sees  
“ and loves us, and is touch'd  
“ with our Necessities. Safely  
“ arriv'd himself in the wish'd for  
“ Haven, he prays for us who  
“ are still expos'd to Shipwrack.  
“ He says to us with a secret  
“ Voice, Hasten to rejoin me.  
“ Pure and holy Spirits see, hear,  
“ and always love their true  
“ Friends in our common Center.  
“ Their Friendship is immortal, as  
“ the

“ the Source of it. Unbelievers  
“ love nothing but themselves, o-  
“ therwise they would grow def-  
“ perate at the Loss of their  
“ Friends for ever. But divine  
“ Friendship changes our visible  
“ Fellowship and Commerce into  
“ an Intercourse by pure Faith.  
“ It weeps and laments, but is  
“ comforted at the same Time by  
“ the Hope of meeting again its  
“ Friends in the Region of Truth,  
“ and in the Bosom of Love him-  
“ self.

Let me give the Reader a short Specimen of another Style, but where the same tender Sentiments abound. He us'd a different Language in expressing the same things, according to the Taste of those to whom he spake.

“ True

“ True Friends are the greatest  
“ Sweets and Bitternesses in Life.  
“ One would be tempted to wish,  
“ that all sincere Friends could by  
“ Agreement die together the  
“ same Day. Those, who love  
“ nothing, would bury all Man-  
“ kind with dry Eyes, and a con-  
“ tented Heart, Such Men are  
“ not worthy to live. The Sen-  
“ sibility of Friendship is indeed  
“ a Source of much Pain and Suf-  
“ fering, but those who have this  
“ Sensibility would be ashamed to  
“ be without it, and had rather  
“ suffer, than be insensible.

Such was the Character of *Mon-  
sieur de Cambray* in Point of  
Friendship. How great and emi-  
nent

*Mons. de FENELON.* 307

ment soever the Talents of his Understanding were, he excell'd still more in the good Qualities of his Heart.

Towards the Year 1709, a young Prince spent some Time with him at his Palace, and in diverse Conversations they had together, listen'd to him with great Veneration and Docility. The Archbishop recommended to him above all Things, never to compel his Subjects to change their Religion. "Liberty of Thought, said he to him, "is an impregnable "Fortress which no human Power "can force. Violence can never "convince; it only makes Hy- "pocrites. When Kings take "upon

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“ upon them to direct in Matters  
 “ of Religion, instead of protect-  
 “ ing it, they bring it into Bon-  
 “ dage. You ought therefore to  
 “ grant to All a legal Toleration,  
 “ not as approving every thing in-  
 “ differently, but suffering with Pa-  
 “ tience what God suffers, and en-  
 “ deavouring to reconcile the mis-  
 “ led by soft and gentle Persua-  
 “ sion.

His Discourses to him upon  
 Politicks were in the same Strain,  
 in which *Mentor* speaks to *Tele-  
 machus*. He set before him the  
 Advantages he might draw from  
 the Form of Government in his  
 Country, and from the Regard he  
 was oblig'd to have for his Senate.

This

“ This Tribunal, said he, can do  
“ nothing without you, Sir. Are  
“ you not powerful enough? You  
“ can do nothing without it. Are  
“ you not happy in being free to  
“ do all the Good you would,  
“ and to have your Hands ty’d,  
“ when you would do amiss? E-  
“ very wise King should wish to  
“ be only the Executor of the  
“ Laws, and to have his Power  
“ moderated by a supreme Coun-  
“ sel. The paternal Authority is  
“ the first Model of Government.  
“ Every Good Father should act  
“ in Concert with those of his  
“ Children, who have the most  
“ Wisdom and Experience.

It was thus that *Monsieur de Cam-*  
*bray* endeavour’d to promote the  
Hap-

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Happiness of other Nations, considering himself as a Citizen of the World. I shall give here a general Idea of his political Principles dispers'd up and down in his *Telemachus*, and in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, and with which he often entertain'd the young Prince before mention'd, during his Stay at *Cambray*.

“ All the Nations of the Earth  
 “ are but so many different Fa-  
 “ milies of one and the same Re-  
 “ publick, of which God is the  
 “ *common Father*. The natural  
 “ and universal Law by which  
 “ he would have each Family go-  
 “ vern'd is *to prefer the Publick*  
 “ *Good to private Interest*.

“ If



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“ If Men were guided by this  
“ Law, every one would be sway-  
“ ed by *Reason* and *Friendship* in  
“ the doing of what he does at  
“ present only for *Interest*, or  
“ through *Fear*. But we are so  
“ blinded and corrupted by our  
“ Passions, that we neither love  
“ nor understand this *great Law*.  
“ It has become necessary to ex-  
“ plain it, and put it in Execu-  
“ tion by *national Laws*, and con-  
“ sequently to establish a supreme  
“ Authority, which might judge  
“ in *dernier Ressort*, and to which  
“ all might have Recourse as to  
“ the Fountain of *Political Uni-*  
“ *ty*, and *Civil Order*; otherwise  
“ there would be as many Arbi-  
“ trary Governments as Men.

“ Love

“ If

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“ Love of the People, the Pub-  
 “ lick Good, the common Interest  
 “ of the Society, is then the im-  
 “ mutable and universal Law by  
 “ which Sovereigns are to rule.  
 “ This Law is antecedent to all  
 “ Contract. It is founded in Na-  
 “ ture it self. 'Tis the Source  
 “ of all other Laws, and the Rule  
 “ by which they should be made.  
 “ He who governs, ought to pay  
 “ the most perfect Obedience to  
 “ this Primitive Law. He has  
 “ absolute Power over the People,  
 “ but this Law should have abso-  
 “ lute Power over him. The  
 “ common Father of the great Fa-  
 “ mily has committed the Care of  
 “ his Children to him for no other  
 “ End but their Happiness. His  
 “ Intention is that one single  
 “ Man

“Man should minister by his  
“Wisdom to the Felicity of so  
“great a Number, and not that  
“so great a Number should serve  
“by their Misery to flatter the  
“Pride of one Man. It is not  
“for his own Sake that he is  
“made a King by God, but only  
“to be the Guardian of the Peo-  
“ple; and he is no farther wor-  
“thy of the Royal Dignity than  
“as he forgets himself for the  
“Sake of the Publick Good.

“The Tyranny of Princes, who  
“govern by despotick Sway; a  
“Violation of the common Rights  
“of Men, as Brethren. 'Tis an  
“entire overturning of the great  
“Law of Nature, to maintain  
“and support which is their on-  
“ly Office. Despotick Power  
“O “ in

“ in the Multitude is a senseless  
“ blind Power, which turns fran-  
“ tick and furious against it self.  
“ A People that has been spoilt by  
“ an Excess of Liberty is the most  
“ insupportable of all Tyrants.  
“ The Wisdom of every Govern-  
“ ment consists in finding the  
“ Middle between these two  
“ dreadful Extremes, in a *Liber-*  
“ *ty which is bounded and re-*  
“ *strained by the sole Authority*  
“ *of the Laws.* But so blind are  
“ Men, and so much their own  
“ Enemies, that they cannot con-  
“ fine themselves to this just Me-  
“ dium.

“ Sad Condition of human Na-  
“ ture! Princes, jealous of their  
“ Power, are always for enlarg-  
“ ing it. The People fond of  
“ their

“ their Liberty, are ever for aug-  
“ menting it. It is better how-  
“ ever patiently to suffer for the  
“ Sake of Order those Evils which  
“ are unavoidable even in the  
“ best regulated States, than to  
“ shake off the Yoke of all Au-  
“ thority, and to abandon our  
“ selves to the wild Fury of the  
“ Multitude, who act neither by  
“ Rule nor Law. When there-  
“ fore the supreme Power is once  
“ lodg’d, by fundamental Laws,  
“ in *one alone*, in *a few*, or in  
“ *many*, we ought to bear the  
“ Abuses of it, till we can find  
“ a Remedy consistent with Or-  
“ der.

“ All Sorts of Government are  
“ of Necessity imperfect, because  
“ the supreme Authority must of  
“ Necessity

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“Necessity be trusted in the  
 “Hands of those who are but  
 “Men. And all Kinds of Go-  
 “vernment are good when the  
 “Governors act by the *great Law*  
 “of the *Publick Weal*. In the  
 “Theory, some certain Forms ap-  
 “pear more eligible than others;  
 “but in the Practice we find,  
 “that the Inconveniences to which  
 “all States are expos’d through  
 “the Weakness or Corruption of  
 “Men, (all subject to the same  
 “Passions) are pretty near equal.  
 “It very seldom fails but the Mo-  
 “narch, or the Senate, is wholly  
 “influenced and led by two or  
 “three Men.

“The Happiness then of hu-  
 “man Society is not to be ob-  
 “tained by changing and over-  
 “turning

“ tunity of writing. I have suf-  
“ fered many Afflictions since our  
“ Separation, but one of the great-  
“ est has been that of not being  
“ able to give you any Proof of  
“ my Affection for you all this  
“ while ; and how much your  
“ Misfortunes, instead of lessening,  
“ have increased my Friendship.  
“ I look forward with a great deal  
“ of Pleasure, to the Time when  
“ I shall be able to see you again ;  
“ but I fear it is yet very far off.  
“ I have had a secret Indignation  
“ at all the Usage you have met  
“ with ; but we must submit to  
“ the divine Will, and believe  
“ that all has come to pass for  
“ our Good.



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“ I have had a secret Indignation  
“ at all the Usage you have met  
“ with ; but we must submit to  
“ the divine Will , and believe  
“ that all has come to pass for  
“ our Good.

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The Duke of *Burgundy* after this corresponded frequently with *Monsieur de Cambray*. The following Letter will shew the Style in which the Archbishop us'd to write to him.

“ **O**ffspring of *St. Louis*, imi-  
 “ tate your Forefather.  
 “ Be, like him, mild, humane,  
 “ easy of Access, affable, com-  
 “ passionate and liberal. Let your  
 “ Grandeur never hinder you from  
 “ condescending, out of Good-  
 “ ness, to the lowest of your Sub-  
 “ jects, to put your self in their  
 “ Place; yet so, that this Good-  
 “ ness may never weaken your Au-  
 “ thority, nor lessen their Respect.  
 “ Study Men continually; learn to  
 “ make use of them, without mak-

“ ing them your Masters. Search  
“ the whole World for Merit.  
“ It is commonly modest and  
“ retir’d. Virtue does not pierce  
“ the Throng to shew it self. It  
“ is neither forward nor greedy,  
“ and is content to be forgot. Suf-  
“ fer not your self to be beset  
“ by insinuating Flatterers. Make  
“ it known that you love neither  
“ Praises nor mean cringing Ad-  
“ dresses. Shew no Confidence  
“ but in those who have the Cou-  
“ rage to contradict you with Re-  
“ spect, and who love your Re-  
“ putation better than your Fa-  
“ vour.

“ It is time for you to shew  
“ the World a Maturity and Vi-  
“ gour of Mind proportion’d to the  
“ present Exigence. *St. Louis* was,

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“ at your Age, the Delight of the  
 “ Good, and the Terror of the  
 “ Bad. Lay aside then all the A-  
 “ musements of your past Years.  
 “ Let it be seen that you have  
 “ Thoughts and Sentiments be-  
 “ coming a Prince. You must  
 “ make your self be loved by the  
 “ Good, feared by the Bad, and  
 “ esteemed by all. Hasten to re-  
 “ form your self, that you may  
 “ labour with Success in the Re-  
 “ formation of others.

“ There is nothing weak, me-  
 “ lancholy, or constrain'd in true  
 “ Piety. It enlarges the Heart.  
 “ It is simple and lovely. It be-  
 “ comes all Things to all Men,  
 “ that it may gain all. The  
 “ Kingdom of God does not con-  
 “ sist in a scrupulous Observation  
 “ of

“ of little Pundilio's. It consists  
“ in the Exercise of the Virtues  
“ proper to each Man's State and  
“ Vocation. A great Prince is  
“ not to serve God in the same  
“ Manner as a Hermit, or as a  
“ private Man. St. *Louis* be-  
“ came a Saint by a Life becom-  
“ ing a great King. He was in-  
“ trepid in War, decisive in Coun-  
“ cil, superior to other Men by  
“ the Nobleness of his Sentiments,  
“ without being haughty, presum-  
“ ptuous, or inflexible. He pur-  
“ sued the true Interest of his Na-  
“ tion, of which he was the Fa-  
“ ther as well as King. In all  
“ the principal Affairs he saw eve-  
“ ry thing with his own eyes. He  
“ was diligent, provident, mode-  
“ rate, upright and steady in his  
“ Nego-

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“ Negotiations , insomuch that  
 “ Strangers trusted no less to him  
 “ than his own Subjects. Never  
 “ did Prince shew greater Wis-  
 “ dom in ordering and governing  
 “ his People, and in the Measures  
 “ he took to make them good and  
 “ happy. He tenderly lov’d and  
 “ plac’d a Confidence in all those  
 “ who deserv’d it ; but was stea-  
 “ dy and firm in correcting even  
 “ those whom he lov’d most. He  
 “ was noble and magnificent ac-  
 “ cording to the Manners of his  
 “ Time, but without Pomp or  
 “ Luxury. His Expence, which  
 “ was great, was ordered with so  
 “ much Oeconomy, that it did not  
 “ hinder him from disburthening  
 “ all his Demesns.

“ Be



“ Be the Heir of his Virtues  
“ before you inherit his Crown.  
“ Invoke him with Confidence in  
“ your Necessities. Remember,  
“ that his Blood flows in your  
“ Veins, and that the same Spirit of  
“ Faith, by which he was sancti-  
“ fied, ought to be the Life of  
“ your Heart. He looks down  
“ upon you from Heaven, where  
“ he prays for you, and where  
“ he desires you may one Day  
“ reign with him in God. Unite  
“ your Heart with his. *Conserva,*  
“ *Fili mi, præcepta Patris tui.*

• After the Death of this Prince,  
his Cabinet was found full of such  
Letters. *Madame de Maintenon*  
read them all to the King, and  
upon that Occasion wrote the  
fol.

following Letter to the Duke of  
*Beauvilliers.*

“ I Would have sent you all  
“ that was found of *Mon-*  
“ *sieur de Cambray's* in the Dau-  
“ phin's Cabinet, but the King  
“ would needs burn all himself,  
“ I confess to you, that I regret  
“ the Loss exceedingly. Nothing  
“ can ever be written so fine or  
“ so good. If the Prince we  
“ mourn for had any Faults, they  
“ were not owing to his having  
“ been too timorously advis'd, or  
“ too much flattered. One may  
“ with Reason say, that *those who*  
“ *walk uprightly shall never be*  
“ *confounded.*

This

This young Prince died in the Year 1712. *Monsieur de Cambray* receiv'd the News of his Death with the most lively Sorrow, and most perfect Resignation. He wept like a disconsolate Father, but at the same said, "If  
" there needed no more than to  
" move a Straw to bring him to  
" Life again, contrary to the di-  
" vine Pleasure, I would not do  
" it. My Bonds are broken.

It would argue an Ignorance of human Nature to imagine that any Person, even of the purest Virtue, could forbear being ty'd to a Prince form'd by his Hands, and whose Capacity and Wisdom; whose Talents for governing and pacifick Virtues were the Hope  
of

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of a Nation harrassed and oppressed by long and bloody Wars.

The Death of such a Prince gave the finishing Stroak to disengage *Monsieur de Cambray* from all Creatures, and made him pass into a divine Life, in which he aspir'd after nothing but Immortality.

He liv'd three Years after his August Pupil, and saw the Duke of *Beauvilliers*, and the Duke of *Chevreuse*, his two intimate Friends and Confidants, die before him.

His Submission, Meekness, Silence, and the inviolable Attachment he had testified, during the whole time of his Banishment, both to his Majesty and to the Church, had made by Degrees such an Impression upon the King's Mind,

Mind, that he came off entirely from his Prejudices against him. He made him be consulted in diverse Occasions, and at last took a Resolution of calling him back to Court: But Providence ordained otherwise.

In the Beginning of the Year 1715, he fell ill of an Inflammation of his Lungs, which put him into a continued Fever. It lasted six Days and an half, accompanied with sharp Pains. During this time he gave all the Tokens of a truly Christian Patience, Meekness, and Constancy. There was nothing to be discovered in him which resembled either that timorous Kind of Devotion which labours under the Dread of eternal Misery, or that philosophical Fortitude which  
blindly

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blindly yields to its Destiny without Fear or Hope. He shew'd to the last Breath the Serenity of a Soul, which resigns it self totally into the Hands of infinite Love. In his last Moments, and in the midst of his sharpest Pains, the only Words he uttered were, *Not my Will but thine be done.*

The fifth Day of his Illness, finding his Strength diminish more and more, he dictated the following Letter to be sent to the King's Confessor.

Cambray, Jan. 6, 1715.

“ **I** Have just receiv'd Extreme  
 “ Unction. 'Tis in this  
 “ Condition, Reverend Father,  
 “ that I prepare to appear before  
 “ God; and that I earnestly in-  
 “ treat

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“ treat you to lay before the King  
“ my real Sentiments.

“ I have never been wanting  
“ in Docility for the Church, and  
“ have always detested Novelties.  
“ I accepted the Condemnation  
“ of my Book with the most  
“ absolute Simplicity of Heart.

“ I have never been a single Mo-  
“ ment in my Life without hav-  
“ ing the most lively Sense of  
“ Gratitude, the most ingenuous  
“ Zeal, and the most inviolable  
“ Attachment to the King's Per-  
“ son.

“ I shall take the Liberty to  
“ request two Favours of his Ma-  
“ jesty, which respect neither my  
“ Person, nor any of mine. The  
“ first is, that he will have the  
“ Goodness to grant me a pious,  
“ regular



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“ regular and worthy Successor,  
“ and one who is firm and steady  
“ against *Jansenism*, which has  
“ gain’d prodigious Credit upon  
“ this Frontier. The other is,  
“ that he will finish with my Successor  
“ what regards my Seminary  
“ and its Union with the Gentlemen  
“ of St. *Sulpicius*. I am  
“ indebted to his Majesty for the  
“ Help I received from them. Nothing  
“ can be seen more apostolic  
“ or more venerable.

“ I wish his Majesty a long  
“ Life, of which the Church as  
“ well as the State has infinite  
“ Need. If I am allow’d to see  
“ God I will often implore this  
“ Favour of him.

It

It was thus that this Prelate, at his Death, reunited in one Stroak all the Sentiments of his Heart, and all the Virtues of his Life; a great Disinterestedness with Regard to his Family, a perfect Respect for his King, an absolute Docility for the Church, and a fatherly Affection for his Flock. This last Stroak of his Life is of it self an intire Picture.

After his Death he was found without Money and without Debts. He died poor as he had liv'd. I insert here the first Part of his Will to shew the perpetual Uniformity of his Sentiments to the last Moment of his Life.

P

" In

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“ **I**N the Name of the Father,  
“ of the Son, and of the  
“ Holy Ghost.

“ Although I am at present in  
“ my ordinary State of Health,  
“ yet I ought to prepare for  
“ Death. It is in this View that  
“ I make, and that I write with  
“ my own Hand this Will and  
“ Testament, hereby revoking and  
“ annulling all former ones.

“ I declare that I will die in the  
“ Bosom of the Catholick, Apo-  
“ stolick and *Roman* Church, my  
“ Mother. God who reads the  
“ Heart, and who shall judge  
“ me, knows that there has not  
“ been a Moment of my Life,  
“ wherein I have not preserv'd  
“ for her the Submission and Do-  
“ cility of a little Child ; and  
“ that

“ that I have never believed any  
“ of the Errors which I have been  
“ charged with. When I wrote the  
“ Book, intitl’d, *An Exposition*  
“ *of the Maxims of the Saints*,  
“ I had no other View but to dis-  
“ tinguish the real Experiences of  
“ the Saints approv’d by the whole  
“ Church, from the Illusions of  
“ the false *Mysticks*, in order to  
“ justify the one and to reject the  
“ other. It was by the Advice  
“ of Persons the most averse to  
“ all Delusion, that I compos’d  
“ this Work, and I did not cause  
“ it to be printed till they had  
“ examin’d it. As this Work was  
“ printed at *Paris* in my Absence,  
“ the Words *Involuntary Trouble*,  
“ with Reference to Jesus Christ,  
“ were added, which were not

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“ in the Body of my original  
 “ Text, as certain Eye-witnesses  
 “ of great Merit have certify’d,  
 “ and which had been put in the  
 “ Margin only to mark a small  
 “ Addition which I was advis’d  
 “ to make in that Place for the  
 “ greater Precaution. Moreover,  
 “ it seem’d to me, upon the Opi-  
 “ nion of the Examiners, that the  
 “ Correctives incalculated in every  
 “ Page of this little Book, evi-  
 “ dently removed all false or dan-  
 “ gerous Constructions. It was ac-  
 “ cording to these Correctives, that  
 “ I endeavour’d to support and jus-  
 “ tify it, while I was at Liberty  
 “ so to do; but I never had an  
 “ Intention to countenance any of  
 “ the Errors in question, or to flat-  
 “ ter any Person, whom I knew  
 “ pre-

“ prepossess’d in Favour of them. As  
“ soon as Pope *Innocent XII.* had  
“ condemn’d this Work, I adher’d  
“ to his Judgment from the Bot-  
“ tom of my Heart, without any  
“ Restriction, as I had promis’d  
“ to do in the Beginning. From  
“ the Moment of the Condem-  
“ nation, I have never said a sin-  
“ gle Word in Vindication of the  
“ Book. I have never thought of  
“ those who attack’d it, but to pray  
“ for them with a sincere Zeal, and  
“ to continue united with them in  
“ the Bond of fraternal Charity.

“ I submit to the Church Uni-  
“ versal, and to the Apostolick See,  
“ all my Writings, condemning e-  
“ very Thing in them, which may  
“ have slip’t from me beyond the  
“ just Bounds : But no Work  
“ ought

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“ ought to be attributed to me,  
“ which may hereafter be printed  
“ under my Name. I acknow-  
“ ledge no other to be mine but  
“ those which shall have been prin-  
“ ted by my Direction, or own’d  
“ by me in my Life-time. The  
“ rest may either not be mine, and  
“ be attributed to me without  
“ Foundation, or be mingled with  
“ the Performances of others, or  
“ be alter’d by the Transcribers.  
“ God forbid that I should take  
“ these Precautions through an o-  
“ ver Tenderness for my Person.  
“ I only think it my Duty, as a  
“ Bishop, to avoid the Imputation  
“ of any Error contrary to the  
“ Faith, or of any suspected Work.

*F I N I S.*



“turning the established Forms,  
“but by suggesting to Princes,  
“that the Safety of their Go-  
“vernment depends upon the  
“Happiness of their Subjects, and  
“by inculcating upon the Peo-  
“ple, that in order to their so-  
“lid Happiness, there must be a  
“Subordination. Liberty without  
“Order is a Licentiousness which  
“brings arbitrary Power. Order  
“without Liberty is a Slavery  
“which ends in Anarchy.

“On the one Hand, Princes  
“should be taught, that to go-  
“vern with unlimited Power is  
“a Madness which proves ruin-  
“ous to their just Authority.  
“When Sovereigns accustom  
“themselves to know no other  
“Law but their absolute Will,  
“they

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“ they sap the Foundations of  
 “ their Dominion. There will  
 “ come a sudden and violent Re-  
 “ volution, which, instead of re-  
 “ straining their excessive Power,  
 “ will irrecoverably put an end to it.  
 “ On the other Hand, the Peo-  
 “ ple should be made sensible;  
 “ that Kings being liable to Ha-  
 “ tred, Jealousies, and involun-  
 “ tary Mistakes, which have ter-  
 “ rible, but unforeseen Conse-  
 “ quences, are to be pitied and  
 “ excused. Men are unhappy in  
 “ that they are to be governed by  
 “ a King who is but a Man like  
 “ themselves; for it would need  
 “ a divine Wisdom to reform,  
 “ and conduct them. But Kings  
 “ are not less unfortunate, being  
 “ but Men, that is to say, weak  
 “ and

“ and imperfect, to have such a  
“ numberless Multitude of cor-  
“ rupt and deceitful Men to go-  
“ vern.

“ It was by these Maxims, e-  
“ qually adapted to all States, that  
“ the wise *Mentor* endeavoured  
“ to make his Country happy, in  
“ maintaining the due Subordina-  
“ tion of Ranks. It was thus  
“ that he reconciled the Liberty  
“ of the People with Obedience  
“ to Sovereigns; seeking to make  
“ Men at the same time good  
“ Common-wealth's Men and loy-  
“ al Subjects, submissive without  
“ being Slaves, and free with-  
“ out being licentious. The pure  
“ Love of *Order* is the Foun-  
“ rain of all his *political* as well  
“ as of his *religious* Virtues. The

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“ same Unity of Principles pre-  
“ vails throughout all his Senti-  
“ ments.

*Monsieur de Cambray* liv'd al-  
most always in an intimate Union  
with his Pupil the Duke of *Bur-*  
*gundy*. It was some Years after  
the Bishop's Banishment before this  
young Prince had Means to write  
to him, but at length having found  
an Opportunity he wrote him the  
following Letter at nineteen Years  
of Age.

Versailles *the* 22<sup>d</sup> of December,  
1701.

“ **A**T length, my dear Arch-  
“ bishop, after four Years  
“ Silence, I have found an Oppor-  
“ tunity

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